

TABLETS FROM THE ARCHIVES
OF DREHEM

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TABLETS

FROM THE

ARCHIVES OF DREHEM

WITH A COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE
SUMERIAN CALENDAR, TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY
AND 23 PLATES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The collection of tablets published here purport to come from *Drehem* the modern Arabic name of a small mound about three miles south of Nippur the famous centre of the cult of Enlil, chief of the Sumerian pantheon. The tablets were purchased in two collections from a London dealer in antiquities, one lot going to the Bodleian Library and the other to the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford. Nineteen tablets of the same collection have been published by Fr. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* vol. VII 186 ff, and belong to the Louvre. The dealer who conducted the sale of the Louvre tablets likewise claimed Drehem as the place where the tablets were clandestinely excavated by the Arabs¹. The contents of the tablets shew that the Arabs have found the records of the cattle market of Nippur which supplied not only the great temple of Enlil and his consort Ninlil with animals for sacrifice but the other temples of Nippur as well. Frequent reference is made to cattle and sheep supplied to the city bakery² *é-mu*.

The supplies are drawn from all parts of the kingdom ruled over by the kings of Ur, the principal contributors being the kings and the princes (*patesi*) of the great cities. Kallamu the priest king of Ašnunak a province on the eastern border near Elam sends three oxen (no. 45). The *patesi* of Nippur appears in two tablets (4,17) as a contributor to the cult of Enlil. The contributions of the king are enormous. The sheep and cattle from the king seem to have been destined not only for Nippur but for other great cults as well. Thus no. 19 records the delivery of 1530 animals from the king which were then sent on to the *patesi* of Lagash, seat of the cult of Ninib son of Enlil, and no. 50 likewise bears record of a huge relay of animals sent to Ninkurra *patesi* of Šurrapak, as the yearly tax due to him. Supplies destined for the cults of Erech, Šubaru and Eridu are recorded in the official accounts of this market of Nippur (nos 49. 52).

1. The names of the months and the grammatical expression *ni-tig* indicate the same general *provenance* as the Nippur tablets published by Myhrman.

2. Notice the interesting statement in connection with animals destined for the city bakery that they have passed inspection (*šu-gid*).

A few tablets do not pertain to the supply, receipts and expenditures of live stock. No. 23 is an entry of grain loaned from the granary for seed; no. 12 gives full details concerning excavations carried on in a canal but the mathematical calculations are inexact; no. 41 concerns a canal freight boat and no. 42 is a curious mathematical text.

The tablets of Drehem are dated in the latter part of the dynasty of Ur. The earliest date is the year 35 + X' of Dungi (no. 12) and the latest the first year of Ibil-Sin (no. 63)¹, extending over a period of thirty one years. If we accept the chronological tables given by me in the *Expositor* August 1910, then our tablets should be dated in the period 2413-2382 BC. It is curious that the records of the market of Nippur are confined to a period so limited and so near to the end of the prosperous dynasty of Ur. A considerable number are dated in the very last years of Gimil-Sin, where with the exception of one in the first year of Ibil-Sin, last king of the dynasty, they suddenly break off. This uniformity must be based upon some ulterior cause, and probably indicates the approaching fall of the southern dynasty and the rise of the new (Semitic) dynasty of Isin which event did not long tarry (2358 BC.) These tablets dealing with the inhabitants of a considerable portion of ancient Sumer prove conclusively that the population of the entire country was already infused with a growing Semitic element. The number of Semitic names in proportion to the Sumerian names is considerable.

Outside of the light thrown upon the political conditions of the period and the practical management of the great cults of Nippur the tablets yield considerable new information on various points. The date formula of the fifth year of Gimil-Sin which has heretofore been known as an *ussa* date, or formula based upon that of the fourth year appears to have been properly 'year when the high priest of Innini was chosen', (see p. 18 n. 2) In the tablets of this period we find a month called the feast of the god Gimil-Sin, but it has been impossible to fix its position in the calendar. Our tablets shew that *ezen d'gimil- d'sin* is but a new name for *ezen- d'dungi*. Notice that *ezen d'gimil- d'sin*, occurs only in the ninth year of the reign of Gimil-Sin (no. 20 and AO. 4690). On the contrary *ezen- d'dungi* occurs not later than the fifth year of Gimil-Sin (no. 5). The name appears to have been changed toward the end of the reign of the latter king.

More important, however, is the light here thrown upon the state of the calendar in this period shewing an uncertainty in regard to the practicability of advancing the whole calendar one month to make the names agree with the seasons to which they originally applied. For example in nos. 2 and 27 the intercalary month is *šegurkud* but in no. 55 the intercalary month is *ezenmekigal*. Now it follows with surety from no. 51 that *šegurkud* was the last month of the year. Nos. 2 and 51 are dated in the ninth year of Bur-Sin and no. 55 in the third year of Bur-Sin. The original calendar closed the year with *šegurkud* or month of the harvesting of barley. We have, however, a complete calendar of the months at Nippur and Drehem together with the names of the cities whose patesis were responsible for gifts to the cult of Enlil for each month². In this list *šegurkud* is the first month and *ezenmekigal* the last month. Since no. 55 actually places the intercalary month after *ezenmekigal* we are confronted by an uncertainty in the minds of the people as to the advisability of advancing the months to make their names conform to the

1. It may be noted here that the date *mu en nun-e d'bur-d'sin-ra kenag en nun-ki ba-zid* (= BM. 95-10-12, 20) on n° 22 belongs most certainly to the eighth year of Bur-Sin of Ur not Bur-Sin of Isin as Kugler insists. ZA. XXI 68, and Sternkunde II 171. None of our tablets are later than the beginning of the reign of Ibe-Sin and the possibility that this one alone comes from the Isin period is wholly excluded.

2. EAH. 134 published by Dr. Hugo Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 299.

seasons¹. Evidently the name *še-gūr-kud* which means 'month of the harvesting of barley' had fallen *regularly* a full month behind its season or even more since the tendency to conservatism could be moved only by a pronounced inconsistency². The force of conservatism, however, prevailed. Although we meet here in the region of Nippur a tendency to make the names of the months consistent with the seasons yet the ancient Sumerian order is the one borrowed and continued by the Semites, an order mechanically maintained even when the beginning of the year was changed to the spring equinox and *šegurkud*, the Semitic *Addar*, came at the end of winter. Inasmuch as the names of the months are one of our best guides for understanding the state of culture at the dawn of history, I give here a translation of the principal terms applied to the months in the primitive calendar. Despite the arguments which have been made to prove that the Sumerian year began in the spring³, our tablets indicate clearly that the year ended with the harvesting of barley corresponding approximately to our July-August, and when the lunar month fell behind 29-30 days so that the month of barley-harvest no longer corresponded to the actual fact an intercalary month was added.

If the calendar in the period of the second dynasty of Ur was felt to be a whole month in arrear and yet was retained by the Semites we must make an allowance of a month in this period when we interpret the names. *Šegurkud* now comes a month before the harvesting of barley, *maš-dū-kur* must now fall a month before the eating, of kids etc. In attempting to interpret the names of the months from documents of the Hammurabi period it will be necessary to remember that what actually happens in any given month must be philologically applied to the name of the preceding month, a principle which will explain a great many inconsistencies. For example no. 23 of our tablets places a loan of grain for seed in the fifth month but the ordinary name for the month of sowing is *šu-numun* or fourth month. Myhrman no. 75 places the gathering of dates in the month of the sowing of barley (Nov.-Dec.), as matter of fact dates are gathered in July (!) The following list of months must have been current at Nippur from the earliest period.

1. *maš-azag-kur*, month of the eating of tender kids fit for sacrifice, Aug.-Sept. A kid born in March-Apr. would attain the age of five months, a suitable stage for eating. Notice that in no. 68 fat kids are sent to Nippur in this month. The same remark applies to no. 22, and AO 4682. Everywhere that I have found the *maš-dū* the month, if given, is the one in question⁵.

1. That is, even when the intercalary *šegurkud* no longer suffice I to make the name apply to the season.

2. Radan EBH. 299 ff. maintained that the order of the months given on EAH. 134 is correct and the remnants of the same order in V R. 43 strengthen his argument. Here *ezenmekigal* is likewise the last month (rev. 12), *ū-ne-(mušen)-kur* = *ū-ne-(mušen)-mu* (obv. 15) is the fourth month as on the Hoffman tablet. The intercalary *ezenmekigal* on the Drehem tablet tends to shew that in some quarters at least *ezenmekigal* had actually usurped the place of *šegurkud*. [As in Myhrman 93, see the eleventh month p.12.] On the other hand the Drehem tablets prove that in most cases the older order was maintained. Our texts clearly justify Kugler's assumption. *Sternkunde* II 181, that *šegurkud* was actually the last month, and justify also the conjecture of Myhrman, *Sumerian Documents of the Second Dynasty of Ur*, p. 50, that we should disregard the order of the Hoffman tablet altogether. Both Radan and Kugler are in a measure in the right. The actual explanation of the difficulty is that the calendar was in process of being advanced a whole month.

3. De Genouillac, TSA. XVIII; see Kugler *Im Bannkreis Babels*, p. 86.

4. The Drehem tablets have invariably *maš-dū-kur*. *maš-dū* occurs also n° 68, 10 and is the ordinary word for a kid about six months old. *azag* has the meaning 'fit for sacrifice', a synonym of *dū*, plump, fit. Cf. *maš-du* 48 19.

5. Thus we can define the Semitic *šabitu*, Hebrew שָׁבִיט, as a weaned kid about six months old. The unweaned kid is the *gukkalu*, see p. 19 n. 6. The *latu* would represent a more mature stage. The *maš* and *maš-gal* are sacrificed in the winter months.

The contemporaneous term *bār-zag-gar* employed also at Nippur and universally in later times, is the name of a fixed star. The earlier pre-Sargonic name is *itu mul bār sag e-ta-šub-a-a*, month when the star Barsag sets (Nik no. 2). In the Persian period the stars which rise heliacally in a given month were said to govern that month not those which set heliacally. It may be, however, that at this very early period the acronical setting or disappearance of a star at night was employed.

The star in question unfortunately cannot be identified. In this month would fall the harvest in this period, cf. Myhrman no. 44, where a farmer returns barley in the month *bara-zag-gar-ra*. The term employed at Lagash from the period of Sargon to the end of the dynasty of Ur is *gan-maš*; *gan-maš* is a kind of food portioned out to attendants of the king, fishermen, bakers etc., and the name refers to the month of the eating of *gan-maš*¹.

The pre-Sargonic term is *ezen-še-kur* ^d*ninā*; this resorts from DP. 131 where the *gan-maš* is eaten at the feast of [*še*]-*kur*-^d*ninā*². The restoration appears to be certain since the only other restoration possible is [*dim*]-*kur*-^d*ninā* and *ezen-še-kur*-^d*nina* follows *še-il-la* the last month on RTC. 47.

2. *SES*³-*da-kur*, month of the eating of the **zebu**, Sept.-Oct. No. 63 and AO. 4684. The term current at Nippur was *ġār-si-su*⁴, and the Semites employ *ġār-si-sá* which is probably original⁵. The Hoffman tablet has *DUN-da-kur* and *DUN*, although classified among the asses *anšu* in RTC 49, and 50, is evidently a sacrificial animal DP. 53 XII 9⁶. The pre-Sargonic term, employed also at Lagash from the time of Sargon onward is *ġār-rá-ne-SAR-SAR*⁷. *SAR*, is to be read *mā*, *mū*⁸, and has been interpreted by 'plow', and the whole by 'month when the oxen plough', regarding *ne* as a verbal prefix⁹. It is, however, not at all certain that the sign in question

1. This interpretation of *gan-maš* is based upon the *gar-gan-maš* measured out to workmen at 1 1/2 and 1/2 *gug* (a measure) each, DP. 130 and 131. In DP. 122 and 123 the *gar-ud* or white bread replaces the *gar-gan-maš* of DP. 130. Cf. RTC. 52. Another interpretation of *gan-maš* is possible if *gan-maš* = *maš-gan*, 'kid of the field', a term employed for 'property in goats grazing in the field', and is also applied to property in sheep, (Nik. n° 170, *maš-gan-ga*), *maš-gan engal-lá-ka-kan*, property in kids of the farmer(s), Nik. 184. *maš-gan* went over into Semitic as *maškanu* with various meanings all derived from 'field-property', 'grazing field for kids'. Cf. *mašgan* = *biritu*, meadow, V Raw. 47 a, 59 and for *biritu*, meadow, see Del. HW. 185 b and *biritu*, SBP. 261 n. 5. *maškanu* in the sense of 'field' also in Ham. Code XIX, 4; *ina našpakim ulu ina maškanim še ettegi*, 'if from the store-house or the field he take grain'. The variant ibid l. 9 has *KI-UD* (*kislaġ*), and *kislaġ* = *nidutu*, 'field with demolished house'. The sign *sù* (REC. 232 = Br. 9614), a kind of silo in a field, is translated by *maškanu* in the syllabars, but cf. Nik. 1-6 12 *maš-sù* parallel to *maš-gan-ga*, perhaps here 'kid of the silo', in distinction to kids fed by grazing. *maškanu* in Semitic acquired the meaning, 'private property', 'home', Del. HW. 660. Cf. *maškan-šu umaššir*, he shall abandon his land, Boissier, DA. 14, 19.

2. Nik. 23. TSA. p. XX.

3. So all the Drehem tablets.

4. Myhrman, nos 50, 130, 117 IV 63 (*su* not *zu*).

5. Poebel, nos 60, 64, etc.

6. The animal in question can not be an ass since it is eaten and in *DUN-da-kur* replaces the earlier *ġār* = *alpu*, ox. Neither can it be the pig for the *DUN-ir* is a beast of burden, Gud. Cyl. A 7, 20. I propose the reading **zebu** which appears to answer the necessary conditions. The zebu is an Asiatic animal and bovine which is exactly what is wanted here. The Semitic translation would be *alpu šunū*, hump-backed ox.

7. Var. *ġār-rá ne-SAR-a-d. ninā-ka*, RTC. 32 rev. II. *ġār-ra-ne-SAR-a*, DP. 143.





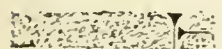





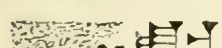

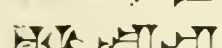

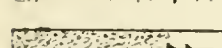

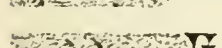

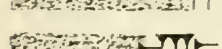

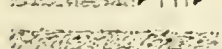

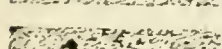

8. The reading results from AO. 3636 *ġār-ra-ne-mu-mu* RA. VIII 87. This text deduced by THUREAU-DANGIN to prove that a barley harvest occurs in the month *ġarranemumu* is to be translated as follows; "23 gur royal Lu-d.Ninsubar has received from Iginarnar at the time of the cutting of barley. In the month Harranemumu (he will return the grain) for grinding meal."


9. De Genouillae, TSA. XIX followed by Kugler, Sternkunde II 177.

means 'plow' (*ḥarāšu*)¹. The later term *si-sá* is employed with cows (*immaš* = *littu*) in Gud. Cyl. B 4. 9. *immaš annage amaš si-ba-ni-ib-sá*, 'the sacred cows in the park he caused to thrive.' Cf. *ḡár-gal-gal-a ne-in-šár-šár-ra* = *duššû gumahḫé*, great oxen which have been fattened². The rendering 'month when the oxen are fat' seems more probable than the one proposed by De Genouillac. *ne-mú-mú* may also be rendered by 'burnt offering'. The verb *si-sá-a* in the name of this month would then mean 'to offer or arrange for sacrifice', cf. DP. 50 VII 5.

3. *ū-ne-(mušen)-kur*, month of the eating of the bird *ū-ne*³, Oct.-Nov. VR. 43 a 15 has a variant *ū-ne-(mušen)-mu*, in which *mu*, a word for *karābu*, to offer as sacrifice, replaces the word *kur*, to eat. AO. 4679 omits *mušen*. The ordinary term at Nippur and employed by the Semites is *itu-síg-ga*, month of brick-making⁴. The pre-Sargonic name of the third month is *ezcu-^dne-gún*, retained in the Sargonic period with the determinative *itu* but shortened to *itu-^dne-gún* at Lagash in the period of the second dynasty of Ur. The name means, 'month of the feast of the god *Negun*'. *Negun* is evidently a variant of *^dNin-gun*, CT. XXIV 26, 112 = II R. 59 c 40, and cf. ZIMMERN, *Zur Herstellung der grossen babylonischen Götterliste An* = (*ilu*) *Anum* p. 97. VR. 43 a 11 has *^dnin-gún-na*⁵; Nik. 187 has *^dnc-gún-na-ka*, as in RTC. 53.

1. K. 4177 rev. 18 upon which Br. 4310 is based was copied by me together with an additional fragment and reads as follows (cf. II R. 44 cd 13 ff.).

		<i>ga-ra-bu</i>
		<i>bu-ša-a-nu</i>
		<i>ḥap-pu</i>
		<i>ḥa-ra-šu</i>
		<i>ga-ra-bu</i>
		<i>ḥa-ra-šu</i>
		<i>ša-na-a-ḫu</i>
		<i>nu-ḫu-um</i>
		<i>a-ka-lum</i>
		<i>a-ka-ḫim</i>
		<i>ḫa-ra-šu</i>
		<i>ḫa-ra-šu</i>

The words *garābu*, *bušānu*, *ḥappu* and *šanāḫu* (Aramaic , to cause a nauseous feeling) are terms for 'loathsome thing' or 'to be loathsome', and we must infer a similar meaning for *ḥarāšu* here. [Note that Meissner's emendation SAI. 8040 is not correct].

2. *duššû*, with Del. HW. 229 b (above), not from *dāšu*, to tread thresh, as De Genouillac has explained, TSA. XL note 6. The etymology is fixed by VR. 52 n° 2. 8/9; *ki bur gal-gal-a ni-šár-šár-ra* = *ašar puru rabûtum uddaššû*, 'where the great bowls were filled with plenty'. [Correct my rendering in SBP. 217.]

3. Written *HU* + *SI* = *BIL*. A reading *ū-de*, *ū-bil*, is also possible.

4. Variant *síg-ū-šub-ba gar*, month when bricks are made in the mould, Myhrman, n° 13.

5. The reading *bil-dar* is false (Meissner SAI. 3119); the second sign is a gunified *SI*, REC. 48, not REC. 34.

De Genouillac deduces from RTC. no. 68 where barley is given out for seed in this month, that sowing of barley occurred one month earlier in the pre-Sargonic period, than in the period of Sargon and later.

4. *ki-sig^{1-d}.nin-a-zu*, month of breaking of bread to Ninazu. Nov.-Dec. EAH. 134 obv. 8; Drehem no. 14; AO. 4683²; V R. 43 a 21; Myhrman no. 45. *Nin-a-zu* means literally, 'lady of healing', and should be identified with the goddess Bau who is 𒀭𒊩𒌆𒀭 the goddess of healing³. In the pre-Sargonic period occurs the month *itu sig^d.ba-ú e-ta-gar-ra-a*, month when the breaking of bread of the goddess Bau is performed [DP. 63]. The ordinary pre-Sargonic name is *itu-sig-ba*, Nik. 9, 224; *itu sig-ba-a*, Nik. 90, month of the giving of broken bread. From the period of Sargon onward the name of the fourth month at Lagash, Nippur and Babylon is *itu šu-numun-na⁴* (V R. 43 a b 17), month of the sowing of barley. The complete form *šu-še-numun*, only Myhrman no. 53.

5. *ezen^d.nin-a-zu*, month of the feast of Ninazu, Dec.-Jan. EAH. 134 obv. 10; AO. 4685, 4688, 4691. Note that grain is loaned for seed in this month, Drehem no. 23. The term employed at Nippur for the same month is *itu ne-ne-nig⁵*, month of fire offerings. Here Ninazu is evidently a deity of the lower world since in Th. Dangun, *Letters et Contrats* no. 7, 6 the offerings for the *ki-sig* of the month *ne-ne-nig* are mentioned. *ki-sig* means the ritual of wailing for the dead, which, although they occurred every month, would be particularly appropriate for the period of greatest darkness. Drehem no. 27, dated in the month of the feast of Ninazu states that fat oxen were offered as *ne-ne-nig* on the seventh day and likewise mentions offerings to *nintindigga*, 'she who gives life to the dead', an epithet of Bau. The name of this month at Lagash from Sargon onward is *itu ezen-dim-kur*, or *itu-dim-kur*, month of the feast of eating the food *dim*. In the pre-Sargonic period two months are called *ezen-dim-kur*, one sacred to Ningirsu the other to Ninā. *ezen-dim-kur^d.ninā* is excluded from the fifth position by the fact that it precedes the eighth month *ezen-Bau* in RTC. 39 and follows *ezen-še-kur⁶* in Nik. 269. Drehem no. 27 mentions the feast of the *še-kur* at Girsu in the month *ezen^d.ninazu*. The same tablet, as we have seen above, mentions the *ne-ne-nig* name of the fifth month at Nippur. On the other hand EAH. 134 and V R. 43 a 27 make *ezen^d.nin-a-zu* the sixth month and *ezen še-kur^d.uñ-gir-su* was the sixth pre-Sargonic month. The scribe who redacted Drehem no. 27 evidently agrees with EAH. 134 in placing all of the months one place later; on this supposition the place of *ezen še-kur^d.ningirsu⁷* as the sixth month in the pre-Sargonic calendar is settled. With *ezen-dim-kur^d.ningirsu* I would identify *itu-*

1. *ki-sig* has been interpreted as a variant of *ki-sig* = *kisikku*, funeral rite for the dead, by Thureau-Dangin, ZA. XV 409. The following month *ezen^d.nin-a-zu* was also sacred to the dead. [See my article on the breaking of bread for the souls of the dead, 'Babylonian Eschatology' in *Essays on Modern Theology*, New-York 1911 (Schribners).

2. Difficult is the occurrence of the unweaned kids *gukkallu* on this tablet, rev. 5, for unweaned kids at this time of the year is not natural.

3. *Ninazu* appears, however, as the god of the lower world and consort of Ninkigal, II R. 59 f. 34; IV R. 15* b 35; ASKT. 103, 16. K. 7418, 6 (Bezold, Cat.) = C^r. XXIII 18, 41, Ninkigal and Ninazu. Offerings to *Nin-a-su* and *Nin-ki-gal* in DP. 51. In Gud. St. I 1, 5 Ninazu is the father of Ningišzida, with which compare SBP. 304, 13 where *umun-a-zu* [= *nin-a-zu*, II R. 59, 34] is identified with Tammuz. Ninazu, lord of weapons, CT. XVI 49, 300, therefore certainly a form of Nergal. On the other hand we have *umnu itu nin-a-zu*, the mother Ninazu, KB. VI, 258, 29, which Jensen translates, 'mother of Ninazu'. As in case of *Ne-sù* above we are confronted with a great difficulty here but the fact remains and must be recognized.

4. Variants *šu-numun-a*, *šu-numun*.

5. V R. 43 b 21, Myhrman nos 126, 163 both containing lists of grain offerings.

6. De Genouillac's arrangement of the pre-Sargonic months TSA. XX appears to be accurate.

7. DP. 66.

ezen-dim-kur-d. lugal-uru-(ki)-ka-ka, Nik. 140 and *itu-ezen-d. lugal-uru-(ki)* DP. 58, 85, RTC. 59 and perhaps *itu -d. lugal-uru-bar-ra-ge*, Nik. 289.

6. *itu á-ki-ti*, month of the feast of the *akitu*, Jan.-Feb. EAH. 134 obv. II; AO. 4686; Drehem 6; Myhrman 116. Variant *itu á-ki-it*, V R. 43 a 34¹. The name of this month at Lagash in the Sargonic period and later is *itu ezen-d. dumuzi* and at Nippur *itu qin-d. innini*, month of the feast of Tammuz, and month of the mission of Innini or Ištar; both names are taken from the nature myth of the return of Tammuz from the lower world after the descent of Ištar. The pre-Sargonic name is *ezen še-kur-d. ningirsu-(ka-ka)*, DP. 62, 63 etc., feast of the eating of barley of Ningirsu. Ningirsu or Ninib in early theology represents the Spring sun and a feast in honour of this god then regarded like Tammuz as lingering in the lower world is natural.

7. *itu ezen-d. dun-gi*, month of the feast of the deified Dungi, Feb.-March. EAH. 134 rev. 2, AO. 4680; Drehem no. 5. The earliest mention of the institution of a feast and a month named in honour of ^dDungi is Reisner. *Tempelurkunden* no. 3 III 15 dated in the year 5 + X of Dungi² and the latest in the fifth year of Gimil-Sin after which period *ezen-d. gimil-d. sin* replaces the term *ezen-d. dun-gi*. The term current at Nippur and borrowed by the Semites is *itu du-azag*, month of (the feast) of Du-azag. In the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings the *akitu* or New Year's festival was celebrated by an assembly of the gods in the Du-azag and we have to do most certainly with a similar myth here only the *akitu* has not yet been associated with the festival of the assembly of the gods. From the period of Sargon³ to the time of the institution of the *ezen-d. dungi* the name of this month at Lagash was *itu ur*, RTC. 276, 283⁴, 286⁵ and is employed as late as the year 12 + X of Dungi⁶. The pre-Sargonic term is *itu-ezen-dim-kur-d. ninā*, DP. 70, 73 which mentions *gukkallu*, unweaned kids, with which compare Drehem no. 21 also the seventh month.

8. *itu-šu-ēš-ša*, EAH. 134 rev. 4; AO. 4681; Drehem 19; *šu-ša-ēš*, Myhrman no. 467. March-April. The name employed regularly at Nippur for March-April is *itu-apin-dū-a*, month of raising the irrigating machines. Myhrman, 37 etc. *dū-a* here appears to mean *našú* (H R. 11, 46) and to be equivalent to *lul* in *apin-lal* = *erššu* to irrigate⁸. The conflate form *giš apin-dū-lal* occurs on a tablet from Kut-el-Hai probably in the period of Hammurabi, RT. XXXIII, *Notes d'Epigraphie* by Scheil no. 3. In Ranke BE VI 1, no. 36, 13 *tiru* appears as the Semetic word for *apin-dū-a* 35, 13. The pre-Sargonic name of this month is *itu ezen-d. ba-u*, month of the feast of Bau, goddess of healing, whose epithet in the season of darkness is *nin-a-zu*. The name is employed at Lagash in all periods. In this month offerings are sent from Lagash to *Kengi*⁹ for *Ninazu* (DP. 51)¹⁰.

1. Note the spelling on an ancient Semitic inscription *isin akkittim*, RA. VII 155 II 8. The name may possibly mean 'life of the strength of the earth', i. e., the festival of rejoicing following the period of greatest darkness, when vegetation shows the first signs of returning life.

2. Also Lau, n° 161. See also Kugler, *Sternkunde* II 145.

3. ZA. XV 410 n. 2.

4. Year 4 + X of Dungi.

5. Year 7 + X of Dungi or two years after the official institution of *ezen-d. dungi*.

6. Reisner, TU. 256, cf. Kugler, ZA. XXII 69.

7. Year 26 + X of Dungi. *ēš* is here written with three slanting wedges. The meaning of the name is unknown; the name appears to have been employed at Drehem and Nippur only, and even here but rarely. If *akitu* be regarded as the beginning of the year then *šu-ēš-ša* would be the third month. *ēš* means 'three'.

8. Cf. RTC. 75 rev. III.

9. I. e., Nippur, v. Langdon, Sumerian Grammar, p. 1.

10. Another pre-Sargonic name is *itu ezen-kisat-la-ka*, month of the feast in the temple court, to be identified with this month from RTC. 46 + DP. 67, cf. Nik. 28.

Radan EB11. 295 first called attention to the fact that, in the time of Gudea at least, this month was regarded as the beginning of the year¹ although the ancient system of numbering the months from midsummer persisted. In the Neo-Babylonian period the *akitu* or feast of New-Year, which the Nippurians placed two months earlier, came to be identified with the *zag-mu*².

9. *itu-ezen-maĝ*, month of the great festival, April-May. EAH. 134, rev. 6 ; AO. 4687, 4689 ; Drehem 7, 25 ; Myhrman 104 I 14. The ordinary name at Nippur is *itu-ĝen-ĝen-è*, month when abundance goes forth, Myhrman 129, and at Babylon, CT. VI 31 B edge. The name employed at Lagash from the period of Sargon onward and occasionally at Nippur³ is *itu-mu-šu-du(ĝ)*, month when the year gives abundance⁴, often written *itu mu-šu-dū (UL)*⁵. The pre-Sargonic name is still in doubt. De Genouillac TSA. XVIII placed here *itu ezen-ab-è*, RTC. 30, a name which appears as *itu ab-è* for the tenth month at Nippur⁶ and Babylon⁷. RTC. 30, however, states clearly that in this month occurs the feast of the *ām-lur* of Nina, i. e., the seventh month. Why the name should occur at Nippur for the tenth month and in the pre-Sargonic period for the seventh is extremely difficult. The name means ' month of the feast of the going forth of the sea '. I would suggest as the pre-Sargonic name *itu-ĝā-uĝu-ūr*, ' month of the house of sheep shearing ', RTC. 36⁸. *itu-ĝā-ūr*, Nik. 227.

10. *itu ezen an-na*, month of the feast of Anu, May-June. EAH. 134 rev. 8 ; Drehem 8, 62 ; Myhrman 24 ; RTC. 321. Thus we see that this name was employed both at Nippur and Drehem in the period of the second dynasty of Ur. We find the name *itu ezen ab-è (ab-è-a)* also at Nippur and universally at Babylon, a name employed henceforth by the Semites as *itu ab-ba-è*, V R. 43 b 52. The pre-Sargonic name *ezen-amar-a-a-si-ga*⁹, is employed at Lagash as *itu amar-a-a-si* from Sargon onward. Variants *ezen amar-a-a-si-zi-da*¹⁰, and *ezen amar-a-a-si-zi-da-ka*¹¹, *itu amar-a-a-si-da*¹², *itu amar-a-a-si-du-ka*¹³.

11. *itu ezen^d me-ki-gāl*, month of the feast of the god Mekigal, Myhrman, no. 81, June-July. Generally without *dīngir*. EAH. 134 rev. 10 ; AO. 4689 ; Drehem 24. In the system of EAH. 134, and V R. 43 c 7 this is the last month. Therefore we find an intercalary *ezen-me-ki-gāl*, Drehem 55 and in Myhrman no. 93 we have from *itu še-gūr-kud* to *itu ezen-me-ki-gāl* there are twelve months, hence in Drehem 24 and Myhrman 93 *še-gurkud* is the first month and *ezen-mekigal* the last. Another name current at Nippur and Babylon is *itu aš-a-an*, CT. IV 13, 34. In the texts published by Myhrman the form is *itu aš-a*, (no. 8) or simply *itu-aš* (no. 11). *aš*, *aš-a*, *aš-an*. *aš-an-na* is

1. The *zag-mu* or ' feast of the new year ' is identified with the feast of Bau in Gudea E 5, 1 ff. and G 3, 5.

2. Borrowed as a loan-word *zagnuku*, and for the origin of *ku* in loan-words see Langdon, Sum. Gram. § 22. It is possible that V R. 43 a 36 is to be restored *ezen^dba-ū*, in which case we would have a trace of the feast of Bau in the seventh month.

3. Myhrman, 136.

4. *duĝ* = *daḥādu*.

5. ZA. XVIII 252, Reisner TU. n° 15.

6. Myhrman 41.

7. CT. IV 18 A 21.

8. Nik. 70 : 184 obv. 11. This interpretation of *gā* = *bitu* is based upon Urukagina, Cone B 2, 4 *gā-uĝu-ūr uru-azag-ga-ka-ni mu-na-dū*, he built her house of sheep-shearing in the holy city.

9. With or without the determ. *itu*. Nik. n° 1.

10. DP. 60.

11. DP. 69.

12. DP. 48, Nik. n° 27.

13. Nik. 222.

probably *wheat*¹, and occurs rarely in the early period², but often from Gudea onward. The name probably means the month of the wheat harvest, although the word for harvest *gurkud* does not occur in the name. If wheat, which ordinarily ripens earlier than barley (*še*), became an important staple only in the post-Sargonic period we may perhaps accept this as the explanation for the insertion of this month in the late the calendar of Nippur thus shoving the month of barley harvest *itu še-gūr-kud* into the twelfth place. In the pre-Sargonic calendar the month of the barley harvest occupies the eleventh place as at Lagash in all periods³.

12. *itu še-gūr-kud*, month of the barley harvest, July-August. Drehem no. 51 (see p. 23) places this month at the end of the year. It is so universally at Babylon, and probably at Nippur in most cases, although Mylirman no. 93 makes it the first month. The pre-Sargonic name is *itu udu-šú-še-a-il-la*, month when barley is carried to the sheep, and is sacred both to Ningirsu (RTC. 31) and Ninā (RTC. 44). Variants *itu udu-šú-še-a-ka*⁴, DP. 47; *itu udu-šú-še-a-il-la*, Nik. 211. *itu udu-^d. ningirsu-ka-ka*, Nik. 162. From Sargon onward the name is abbreviated to *itu še-il-la*⁵.

Other names of months unidentified in the pre-Sargonic period are, *itu giš-dim-na-ka*, DP. 80; *itu dagal-udu-tuk-ka*, Nik. 184. *itu-igi-gar-āb*, month of counting cows, Nik. 207; *itu-igi-gar-udu*, month of counting sheep, Nik. 231; *itu-igi-gar-ma*, month of counting figs, Nik. 241; *itu ūz-ne-ka-ra-a-a*, Nik. 226; *itu lū-unug-(ki)-ka*, Nik. 227.

The order of the months *gan-maš* to *še-illa* in the Sargonic and post-Sargonic periods at Lagash has been definitely fixed by Thureau-Dangin and Kugler⁶, and the order at Nippur and Drehem *maš-azag-kur* to *šegurkud* is fixed by Drehem no. 51. The contemporaneous Nippurian list employed by the Semites is fixed by V R. 43 and 29 no. 1 and a considerable portion of the Babylonian order by the contemporaneous document CT. II 187.

1. Cf. Zimmern, Rt. p. 94 note 8.

2. RTC. 55, Nik. 59 rev. I.

3. De Genouillac op. laud., XVIII considers *itu gūr-dub-ba*, month of storing in granaries, as the eleventh month. Variants *itu gūr-dub-ba-a*, RTC. 24, TSA. 14; *gūr-dub-da*, Nik. 249.

4. De Genouillac cites a curious variant *itu-udu-šú-še-a-AN-la*, TSA. 18. It is difficult to resist inferring a value *it* for AN here, a clear case of Semitic influence.

5. A month *itu an-ta-sur-ra* (RTC. 20) has been identified by De Genouillac op. laud. XIX, with the twelfth month and Kugler, Sternkunde II 198 f., has attempted to interpret *an-ta-sur-ra* by shower of stars from the constellation Leo which in the pre-Sargonic period occurred in July, now November. *an-ta-sur* actually means 'poured out from heaven', for the root *sur*, pour out, v. Langdon, Sum. Grain, p. 244. *antasurra*, however, is a part of the temple of Ningirsu, v. Th. Dangin, SAK. 243. Also in n. pra; Ur-antasurra, DP. 141 IV, = man of the Antasurra. Offerings to the Antasurra, Nik. 24 VI; Lau op. laud. 88 rev. 5. For *an-ta-sur-ra* in the sense of 'pour out from above', (*etiš tabāku*), v. IV R. 16 b 48 f., and K. 3462, 5.

6. ZA. XXII, 69 f.

7. Johns PSBA. 1908, 221 pp. and Mahler in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume have both completely misunderstood this text and have attempted to prove that the Babylonians reckoned certain months at 29 days and others at 30 days. As a matter of convenience the Babylonians and Sumerians reckoned all their months at 30 days and it is so on the tablet in question. Johns misunderstood the phrase *udda giddu našlyu*, 'a full day falls out', and Mahler fell into the same error. The obverse contains five sections concerning barley to be threshed, i.e., barley in the head; each section names a period giving the first and last day, the number of days, the amount to be threshed each day and at the top of the section the total threshed in this period. If any days fell out in this period, i. e., if no threshing was done on these days, the number of days which fell out are given.

The reverse contains four sections concerning beer probably for the consumption of workmen. Here we have periods dated by the first and last days, the number of days in each, the quantity given out for each day and the total. Here also certain days fall out on which no liquor is portioned. I give here the analysis of the text.

I. Obv. 1-4. From *nenenig* 8 to *gin-^d.innint* 3, one day falls away, = 24 days. Each day 1/2 gur = 12 gur.

[In *nenenig* 22 days plus 3 in *gin-^d.innini* = 25 - 1 = 24.]

Months in all periods were counted at 30 days for practical purposes but began always with the new moon and were strictly lunar. Thus the lunar year falls behind the solar year about eleven days each year. The names of the months which we have passed in review prove that the new moon following the barley harvest was taken as the beginning of the new *calendar* year at Nippur. New-year's day however must have been independent of this official calendar, being fixed at the new moon at the time when the days begin to lengthen after the period of greatest darkness (*akitu*) at Nippur, but at the spring equinox at Lagash. These two feasts of the new year *akitu* at Nippur, *zagnuku* at Lagash fell together in the Neo-Babylonian period. The pre-Sargonic and Lagash calendar is purely *agricultural*. In such a system the solar procession would have no effect. If barley harvest in the course of 2160 years fell one month later the name *šegurkud* followed the season, kept its place as did all the other names. When, however, the year began according to the rising or setting of a fixed star the names would gradually begin to fall behind the seasons. At Nippur perhaps somewhere 2000 years before the era of Dungi the beginning of the year was fixed by the acronic setting of the star *barsag*, after the barley-harvest. For the other months the agricultural names remained. They were retained in their place by inserting every two or three years an intercallary month after *šegurkud* both at Nippur and Lagash. As Kugler truly says, the cutting of barley appealed to the ancient inhabitants of Chaldea as the most important agricultural feature of the year. To bring the names into conjunction with events they naturally selected this name as the most important. In the Sargonic calendar the intercallary month appears to have a separate name, *mes-en-du-še-u-na*¹ and to have been inserted after *mu-šu-duġ*, (April-May), 'month when the year yields abundance', taken evidently as more important than the barley-harvest.

We have then two systems at Nippur, one reckoned from the acronic setting of the star *barsag* the other from the month of the eating of kids. In both systems *šegurkud* is one place later than in the Sargonic system. In the secondary or *mašdukur* system we are confronted by a system

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- II. Obv. 5-8. From *qin-d-innini* 3 to *apindūa* 28 (so read), two days fall out, = 2 months and 23 days or 83 days. Each day 3 5 gur = 49 4/5 gur. [83 days = 27 + 30 + 28 - 2.]
- III. Obv. 9-11. From *apindūa* 28 to *ab-e* 8 = 40 days. Each day 2 5 gur = 16 gur. 40 days = 2 + 30 + 8. [No days fall out.]
- IV. Obv. 12-13. 3 gur + 40 qa of barley in the head, of the *pi ših* of the house until the 26th (so read) of *ab-e*. [The phrase probably means that this grain lay unthreshed until the 26th of *ab-e*.]
- V. Obv. 14-16. From *ab-e* 26 (so read) to *aš-a* 25 = 29 days (so read). Each day 1/15 gur = 1 4/5 gur + 40 qa.
-
- VI. Total 82 gur and 260 qa of barley in the head. The barley threshed out is 20 gur and 215 qa.
-
- VII. 22 (*h*) gur of barley chaff, therein 4 gur of barley. Altogether 24 gur 215 qa of barley.
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- VIII. Rev. 22-24. From *šu-numuna* 10 to *apindūa* 20 = 4 months and 8 days; two days fall out. [20 + 30 + 30 + 30 + 20 = 130 - 2 = 128 = 4 × 30 + 8.] Each day 17 qa = 7 gur and 76 qa of beer.
- IX. Rev. 26-29. From *apindūa* 20 to *ab-e* 18 [one] day falls out, = 57 days (so read). [10 + 30 + 18 = 58 - 1 = 57]. At 3 qa daily = 171 qa [counted as 170 in the total].
- X. Rev. 30-33. From *qin-d-innini* 16 to *ab-e* 12 with 2 days fallen out = 114 days. [14 + 30 + 30 + 30 + 12 = 116 - 2 = 114.] Each day 3 qa. 114 × 3 = 342. The total given is 312 qa and this is the figure employed in footing up the reverse. An error of 30 qa has occurred.
- XI. Rev. 34-35. 2 gur and 150 qa of drink from *qin-d-innini* 2 to *ab-e* 30.
-

Total = 11 gur and 108 qa.

1. Thureau-Dangin followed by Kugler. The intercallary month at Nippur and Lagash in the post Sargonic period is simply *dirig šegurkud*, i. e., 'Additional *šegurkud*'. For the position of *mes-en-du* v. RTC. 180 rev.

which is actually in the process of being shoved along one place. This would not be surprising if during the unit of a procession, 2160 years, this system like the *barzaggar* system had been regulated by the observation of a fixed star. It is highly probable that this secondary purely agricultural system of Nippur was so closely united with the *barzaggar* or astronomically fixed system that its order was held in place until even by intercallation of a month the names were actually one month behind the seasons. The entire Babylonian calendar being the Nippurian *barzaggar* system and retained by them until long after the Hammurabi dynasty (i. e. beginning at midsummer) is in actual use one month behind the seasons. This becomes evident by close study of the documents of the first dynasty which pertain to agriculture. Finally the system of beginning the official calendar with the New Year or *zagmuk* prevailed and the whole system shifted five months forwards, names and all, thus bringing the system out of joint. Evidently the Semites who wrote *šu-numun* for the month of Tammuz had completely forgotten that *šunu-mun* in Sumerian means the sowing of barley, which occurs five months later.

But it is not my purpose to trace the history of the calendar beyond the Sumerian period. Its origin must be placed at least 2160 years before the era of our Drehem tablets, which have thrown such sudden and welcome light upon the problems which have been discussed. I add here for convenience the five systems whose names I have attempted to interpret¹.

A	B	C	D	E
Pre-Sargonic	Sargonic at Lagash	Period of Dungi at Lagash	Ordinary Nippu- rian	Secondary Nippurian
I <i>ezen-še-kur^d.nīnā*</i>	<i>gan-maš</i>	<i>gan maš</i>	<i>bār-zag-gar</i>	<i>maš-dū²-kur</i>
II <i>gár-ra-ne-mú-mú</i>	<i>gár-ra-ne-mú-mú</i>	<i>gár-ra-ne-mú</i>	<i>gár-si-sá</i>	<i>ŠEŠ-da-kur</i>
III <i>ezen^d.ne-gín*</i>	<i>ezen^d.ne-gín †</i>	<i>ezen^d.ne-gín</i>	<i>síg-ga</i>	<i>ā-ne-(mušen)-kur</i>
IV <i>síg-ba</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>šu-numun-a</i>	<i>ki-síg^d.nīn-a-zu</i>
V <i>ezen-dīm-kur^d.ningirsu*</i>	<i>ezen-dīm-kur</i>	<i>dīm-kur</i>	<i>ne-ne-nig</i>	<i>ezen^d.nīn-a-zu</i>
VI <i>ezen-še-kur^d.ningirsu*</i>	<i>ezen^d.dumuzi</i>	<i>ezen^{3d}.dumuzi</i>	<i>qin^d.innini</i>	<i>ā-ki-ti</i>
VII <i>ezen-dīm-kur^d.nīnā*</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ezen^d.dungi</i>	<i>dū-azag</i>	<i>ezen^d.dungi</i>
VIII <i>ezen^d.ba-ú*</i>	<i>ezen^d.ba-ú</i>	<i>ezen^d.ba-ú</i>	<i>apin-dū-a</i>	<i>šu-ēš-ša</i>
IX <i>gà-udu-ūr (?)</i>	<i>mu-šu-dū ††</i>	<i>mu-šu-dū</i>	<i>gén-gén-ì</i>	<i>ezen-maš</i>
X <i>ezen-amar-a-a-si</i>	<i>ezen-amar-a-a-si</i>	<i>amar-a-a-si</i>	<i>ab-è</i>	<i>ezen-an-na</i>
XI <i>šegurkud</i>	<i>šegurkud**</i>	<i>šegurkud**</i>	<i>aš-a-an</i>	<i>ezen^d.ne-ki-gál</i>
XII <i>udu-šú-še-il-la</i>	<i>ezen-še-il-la</i>	<i>še-il-la</i>	<i>šegurkud**</i>	<i>šegurkud**</i>

Tablets 55 (Bur-Sin 3), 24 (Bur-Sin 2) and perhaps also 27 (Dungi 44 + X) agree with the Hoffman Tablet in placing *šegurkud* at the beginning of the year. On the other hand no. 51 (Bur-Sin 9) and probably the majority of the Drehem tablets are chronologically based upon the

1. Names starred are not always preceded by the determinative for month *itu*. List A was established by De Genouillac. B and C by Thureau-Dangin and partly by Radau. † *d. ne-gín* to be distinguished from *d. NE-dar*, DP, 52 II; 55 V 6; RTC. 47 Obv. IV; TSA. 1 Obv. II 8; Gudea, *Masse d'armes* C etc. †† Here intercallary *mešendu*. ** Here *dirig šegurkud*.

2. Omitted, e. g., VS. VIII 48, 7.

3. Var. *azag*.

earlier system. In RA VIII 84, M. F. THUREAU-DANGIN mentions other Drehem texts, the earliest from the year 12 + X of Dungi, which likewise place *šegurkud* at the beginning of the year. He has also found a Drehem tablet similar to the Hoffman Tablet, viz. AO. 5524, which gives on the contrary the old order, E in my list.¹

ADDENDUM.

Upon going to press I note that according to F. Th.-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. VIII, no. 3 the order and names of the months on the tablets from Umma, modern Djokha, are quite different from those employed at Lagash and Nippur. The Umma tablets agree with revised Drehem calendar in placing the month of barley harvest at the beginning of the year so that the calendar of Umma appears to have been shifted forward one month. The month of brick-making, third in the calendar of Nippur is the second month at Umma. At Lagash and Nippur the month of seed sowing is the fourth, (November) but the sixth (January!) at Umma. Lagash celebrated the feast of ^dNegun in October but Umma in April (ninth month). The month dedicated to Dungi at Lagash and Nippur is the seventh but the ninth at Umma. At Lagash and Nippur the wailings for Tammuz and the descent of Innini are celebrated in the sixth month (January) at the period of greatest darkness, but at Umma in the twelfth month (July) at the time of heat and drought, thus agreeing with the Hebrew and Mediterranean custom.

1. Note on AO. 5524 the name of the eleventh month *ezen-me-ši-gal*, where *ki* > *ši* is a clear case of palatalisation, s. Lang. Sum. Gram. § 40.

TRANSLATION.

1. Urazagnunna received¹ from Ninbati 21 sheep, 2 lambs, 36 kids, which have passed inspection. Month of the feast of Gimil-Sin², 7th year of Gimil-Sin. The overseer³ is Tab-ili.
2. Dugga received from Endingiramu one she goat. Urnes drew up the tablet. Sealed with the seal of Urnes son of Ginnab. Intercalary month Še-gur-kud. 9th year of Bur-Sin⁴.
3. Dugga received from Kurbilak 1 sheep, 1 ram dead, on the 19th of Še-gur-kud. First year of Gimil-Sin. Tablet drawn up by Urnes, with his seal.
4. *áš sīl ^den-lil áš sīl ^dnin-lil mu-ara⁵ pa-te-si en-lil-(ki) áš maš-dū l-a-du-du šag []
^den-lil-la mu-ara a-bu-bu ni-dū⁶ araḫ-mu muškim ul min-kam ki ab-ba-šág-ga-la ba-ziḡ ili*

1. *nī-KU*, employed passim in the Drehem tablets for the ordinary šu-ba-ti. The original root for take, receive is *teg*. It is necessary to assume this value for *KU*, not only to explain its use in the Drehem tablets but also its use for the verb *nāhu* to repose. Cf. *Babyloniaca* IV 38. Read, therefore, *nī-tig*. Cf. Myhrman, 81, 11 *nī-tig-eš*, they have received. *nī-tig* occurs in the interesting tablet n° 138 of the *Documents Pré-Sargoniques of Allotte de la Fuje* in the sense of inherit, the tablet records the names of 31 herdsmen of the property of the goddess Bau, eleven of whom died leaving property and twenty without property. In case of each of the eleven who left property we have the phrase X *dumu-ni nī-tig*, X his son possessed (his property), or *ab-ba-ni nī-tig*, 'his father possessed'. In two cases we find the *gar-tud*, a public harlot, succeeding to the property of men, obv. V. [For this interpretation of *gar-tud* note that in RTC. 53 obv. II 3 and rev. 13, the wet-nurses *um-me*, *um-me-da*, are reckoned among the *gar-tud* and that in RTC. 17 rev. III the son of a patesi Urtar (cf. obv. III) has two *gar-tud* both of which are witnesses. Each temple appears to have had two or three of these concubines in its service, cf. for the temple of Bau, DP. 113 VIII, Nik. 2 VIII and TSA. 14 obv. VIII, and for the temple of Galalim, Nik. 18 obv. V. In DP. 132 III 1-12 five *gar-tud* contribute milk and food for the wives of five officials. The important status of these concubines in ancient Sumerian society is difficult to understand]

2. The month of the feast of Dungi appears to have been changed to that of Gimil-Sin during the latter's reign.

3. *gīr* in the tablets of Drehem denotes apparently the overseer who actually conducted the transfer of sheep and cattle from various towns to the cattle market at Drehem. *muškim* is a similar title and it is difficult to distinguish between them.

4. *mu en nannar kar-zi-du ba-ziḡ*, year when the high priest of Nannar *Kar-ziḡ* was installed. *ziḡ* for *ziḡ* = *kānu*, passim in date formulae.

5. For the reading *ara*, cf. n° 63, 4.

6. *ni-dū* = *atū* watchman. In SBH. 75, 18, a gate-keeper. Probably a high official in the temple service. In BE. VI 2, n° 36 a man sells his right to the office of the *nam-ni-dū* in the temple of Adad in Nippur, and

- ezen* *an-na-zu mu en-maš-gal an-na en* *anannar ba-zid*. One lamb for Enlil. One lamb for Ninlil sent by the patesi of Nippur. One kid for the house *Adudu* in the of Enlil, sent by Abuhu the (temple)-watchman; Aradmu is the agent. Second day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month of the festival of Ninazu. Year in which the great high-priest of heaven, priest of Nannar was installed [4th year of Bur-Sin].
5. 122 sheep, 5 lambs, 32 kids. Tablet (drawn up by) Naramu. (Received) from Intaëa. Copy¹ of a tablet of Abbašagga. Month of the feast of Dungi. Year when the priest of Innini was chosen². [5th year of Gimil-Sin].
 6. 150 + X sheep, 60 lambs 360 ewes, 20 rams, X she goats, passed inspection. Dugga received from Namar. Month of the Akiti. 2nd year of Gimil-Sin.
 7. 9 fat sheep, 4 sheep, 5 *qa* of cream for the temple [], 1 fat sheep the regular offering³ to [], 2 lambs TUK-KU..., 1 lamb QA.... *lugal-šeg*.... 3 lambs ... *gal* ..., priest-mes of the god...., in Ur, 2 lambs for the god...., 1 lamb and two *qa* of cream⁴, offering to the emblem⁵ of Ur, from Hidutum, the butler (?) traveller⁶. Two *qa* of milk for the Du-azag. Total of 10 fat sheep, 4 sheep, three lambs. Total of 6 lambs and 9 *qa* of milk. Removed on the 10th day. *mu 3 mes.... ul* — ? PA-KAB-DU... Month of the great feast. 5th (?) year of Gimil-Sin².
 8. The chief of the cattle market Abbašagga delivers 11 oxen, 5 sheep, 3 lambs, 10 rams, 2 kids to Intaëa on the 13th of the month *ezen-an-na*. 6th year of Bur-Sin.
 9. 104 sheep and goats, dead. Tablet of Nusku-urra; tablet undated as to the day⁷. Dugga has received. Unto Urnes a tablet he brought not. 2nd year of Gimil-Sin.
 10. Abbašagga delivers to Intaëa 298 ewes, 255 sheep, lambs, unweaned lambs, 39 male kids, 72 she-goats, 37 unweaned kids, inspected on the 28th of the month *šegurkud*. 6th year of Bur-Sin.
 11. No. 11 of the collection is too fragmentary to be worth publishing.
 12. 120 *gar gid-bi dagal-bi* 1 1/2 *ú dāl-bi* 1 1 2 *ú saġar-bi* 22 *sar*.
50 *gar gid-bi dagal-[bi]* 1 1 2 *ú dāl-bi* 2/3 *ú saġar-bi* 3 + X *sar*.
30 *gar gid-[bi] dagal-bi* 1 1/2 *ú dāl-bi* 1/3 *ú saġar-bi* 2 *sar*.

in Nik. 18 rev. III a man is the *ni-dū dingir*, i. e. 'watchman of god'. A *nidū bāb gāgim*, watchman of the gate of the convent, is mentioned in CT. IV 49 b 23. In mythology *ni-dū* is the watchman of the gates of hell, in the Descent of Ishtar obv. 13-14-21, and a minor deity is the *ni-dū-gal* of Ekur in CT. XXIV 9. 16.

1. *gab-ri*. For this interpretation, cf. n° 51 edge.

2. This date occurs also on n° 14 and may be identical with SAK. 235 l. N° 14, however, has a seal dedicated to Gimil-Sin and hence the date cannot be placed before that king. Neither can it be placed in the reign of Gimil-Sin unless it be the proper date for the 5th year, hitherto known as the year following the 4th year. It seems probable that this is the case since not only does n° 14 contain this king's name but n° 5 is dated in the month of the feast of Iungi which was changed to the feast of Gimil-Sin toward the end of the latter's reign. The other alternative would be to place the date in the reign of Ibil-Sin in which case the theory that the month *ezen-Dungi* was changed to *ezen-Gimil-Sin* would be given up.

3. Written *sā-a-dug*.

4. *ga-šeg*, 'fat of milk'.

5. *šu-nir*, *kakku ša ili*, weapon of god (*šu-nir*). Meissner, SAI. 8079. As emblem of a city v. St. Vaut. rev. 7, 4.

6. *ka-šu-dū kis*. For *ka-šu-dū* = *saġū*, 'he who gives to drink', v. *šu-qa-du* = *šaqū*, Br. 7093, (cf. also Lau. *Old Bab. Temple Records*, p. 31). The royal butler would occupy a high position (cf. De Genouillac TSA. XXX who, it seems to me, wrongly rejects the meaning proposed by Zimmern).

7. *saġ ud-nu-tuk*, 'in a day not given'.

*pap-ub*¹ *a-Nannar-ur-sag* 10 *qal ulu* 60-*šú al-ag. ki za-ja dug* (?)

a-sag-ga *itu ezen an-[na] nu bád ma-da ba-dā.*

We have here a record of three excavations made in the canal of Nannarursag at which 10 men laboured for 60 days. The length of the first section is 120 *gar* or 1110 cubits, its width 1 1/2 cubits and its depth 1 1/2 cubits², or 3240 cubic U. The SAR = 144 cubic U $\frac{3240}{144} = 22 \frac{1}{2}$ SAR. The calculation on the tablet 22 SAR is not quite exact. The second section = $50 \times 12 \times 3 \frac{1}{2} \times 2 \frac{1}{3} = 600$ U³ or 4 1/6 SAR. The traces of the total in line 8 are not in favour of the reading 4.

The third section = $30 \times 12 \times 3 \frac{1}{2} \times 1 \frac{1}{3} = 180$ U³ = 1 1/4 SAR. The calculation is again inexact. The name of the field in l. 16 is broken away. Dated in the month of the feast of Anu, in the year 35 + X of Dungi.

13. Abbašagga delivers to 6 kids of Magan *giš-dā* and 5 mother goats of Magan, on the 30th of the month of the spring festival (Akīti). 4th year of Bur-Sin.
14. Uršū receives from Abbašagga one cow two years old through the agent . . . *tam-ma*, and two cows two years old through the agent Gimil-ili. Month of *Kisig-Ninazu*, 5th year of Gimil-Sin (?). Sealed by the scribe Urazagnunna.
15. 2 fat oxen, one fat cow, 2 sheep *a-lum*, one lamb *a-lum*³, from Abbašagga Šumama received. Dated 17th of the month of the great feast, 7th year of Bur-Sin.
16. 23 rams for the house of the fat sheep from Abbašagga *Bēlia-rīq* received. The agent is Ur-Nidaba his messenger⁴. Month of Kisig-Ninazu, 6th year of Bur-Sin.
17. 1 lamb for Nusku, 1 lamb for Ninib, sent by the patesi of Nippur. 1 fat ox, 1 sheep, 1 kid for Enlil; 1 fat ox, 1 sheep, 1 kid for Ninlil from those sent by Ribā. The messenger is Nina-ušungal. 12 oxen, 3 sheep, 120 ewes from *a-nin-SIR* + *LA*⁵, the musician, 7 oxen [] from Banum-Amurru, the messenger is Am 180 cows, 25 sheep, 15 ewes, inspected, for the bakery. 10 + Xth day of the month *šu-ēš-ša*. Total 370. First year of Bur-Sin.
18. Ludingirani receives sheep and lambs from Abbašagga on the 25th of the month of the feast of Anu. 2nd year of Bur-Sin.
19. Ur-lamas patesi of Girzu received from Narāmili 1530 oxen, sheep and goats which had been sent by the king. Second year of Bur-Sin. Month *šu-ēš-ša*.
20. Šu-ūš-pak delivers sheep and goats to *Ur-mun*. Month of the feast of Gimil-Sin. 9th year of Gimil-Sin.
21. 5 *gukkal* 2 *gukkal*⁶ *giš-dā ul* 23-*kam* 5 *udu šeg ul* 26-*kam ki-na-šág-la a-lu-ni ni-tíg itu*

1. Cf. similar measurements of a wall RTC. 138. Similar measurements of excavation in RTC. n° 412 but there the depth is given as *gid*. Our tablet has more correctly *dāl*, depth. Concerning cubic measurements see Th.-Dangin, ZA. XV 112-4, and JA. 1909, 100; also Allotte de la Fuÿe, RA. VI 75-8.

2. Sie! We expect *pap-e*, cf. RTC. 412, rev. II 9.

3. Cf. AO. 4683 rev. 12 f. *a-lum* (or *a-nun*?) after *udu* and *barun*, the term may be geographical as *Magan*, n° 13.

4. *galu qin-gi-a-bi*.

5. Cf. CT. III 35, 55.

6. *gukkal* according to V R. 9, 63 is an unweaned animal. In AO. 4683 rev. 5 (RA. VII, after p. 187) the *uniku*, female kid, is classified with the *gukkal* and on K. 6027 (M^s p. 13) *gukkalum* is followed by *šabatum* = *šabitu*, male kid. In Neb. 9 III 12 and 19 B VII 13 *gukkalum* accompanies *immer mir* i. e., young male lambs, and the *gukkal* is an animal of sacrifice in RTC. 378 obv. 5. *gukkal* can be, therefore, nothing but the unweaned male kid approaching the stage of weaning. Notice that *giš-dū* is employed in n° 13, 1 after

- ezen d-un-gi¹ mu d-bur-d. sin lugal*. Five unweaned male kids, two unweaned male kids *giš-dū*, for the 23^d. day. Five fat sheep for the 26th. day. From Našag Ahuni has received. Month of the festival of Dungi. First year of Bur-Sin. Total 12.
22. Two full grown male kids for Enlil. Two full grown female kids for Ninlil. Atud the butler is the conveyancer. From those sent for the 22nd. day. Taken from Lugalamarazagni. Month of the eating of kids. 8th. year of Bur-Sin.
23. Sixty *qa*. of grain according to the royal measure, for seed. Sugaga a man of Marada, grain belonging to Errib from the store house (has taken). Month of the feast of Ninazu. Year 38 + X of Dungi.
24. 30 sheep, 11 kids, tablet made by *d-TUN-BIL*; 39 kids, tablet made by Uršag, from Abbašagga Urnigingar has received. Month *ezen-me-ki-gāl*, 2nd. year of Bur-Sin.
25. 37 oxen, 3 cows, 670 sheep, 110 kids for the 17th. day from Abbašagga Aradnu the seer² of Ea received. Month of the great feast. First year of Bur-Sin. Total 820.
26. 60 *Ku* 5 *Ku-gig*? 1 kid Namlani the soldier in Erech from Allamu has taken. Month *ezen-maš*. First year, of Ibil-Sin.
27. 1 fat ox sacrifice to Nintindigga, 7 fat oxen, 4 oxen for the temple on the 7th. day, 14 fat oxen given as property of the temple, as burnt offerings for the temple on the 15th. day. 2 fat oxen for the feast of the eating of grain of Girsu, 4 fat oxen for the festival of the temple of Innini. 1 fat ox for the station (?) of the new moon, 73 oxen the first time, 40 cows the second time for the field. From Ludingirrani. 5 fat oxen for the burnt offering from Ahuni. Total 151. Total of fat oxen 34, of oxen 77, of cows 40. From Našag Enlil has received. Month of the feast of Ninazu. Year 44 + X of Dungi.
28. 1 fat ox, when the son of Zimti-Gusir came, at Nippur. The conveyancer is Nannar-azagzu. 1 fat ox, conveyancer Lugalamarazag son of Našag. 15 fat sheep, conveyancer Azag-Nannar, from Ahupir Siluš-Dagan has received, conveyancer Ur-uš-gidda. Second year of Gimil-Sin.
29. Ludingirra received one fat ox and three oxen from Abbašagga on the 20th. of the month *šequrkud*. First year of Bur-Sin.
30. Nannar received two lambs from Abbašagga on the 17th. of the month *ezen-an-na*. Fourth year of Bur-Sin.
31. Dugga received from Ahupir lambs and kids. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Third year of Gimil-Sin³.

maš, kid. Note also that the month is Apr.-May, when kids would be only a month or so old. The *gukkalu* in DP. 43 III 4 are sacrificed in the seventh month Feb.-Mar. as on our tablet, and in RTC. 378 the sacrifice is made on the 5th of the ninth month.

1. *šulgi* appears to be a more desirable reading. The name means 'faithful hero'.

2. *PA-AL* i. e., the aged PA or *aklu*. For PA as a priestly function see De Genouillac TSA. LX. *PA-AL* is pronounced *šabar* (*šabra* is a decayed form) and is probably connected with *šubar* K. 8276, 3 a sign variant of Br. 4666, interpreted by *barū* seer. The derivation would be *zu-bar* 'seer of wisdom'. The *šabar* does not appear before the period of Sargon and Narām-Sin. On a seal of Sargon [RA. IV 5] a *šabar e*, seer of the temple named Dada is represented standing before a seated goddess and the *šabar* of the temple follows *nin*, the priestess, on RTC. 135. Cf. SAK. 168 I) 13. On EAH. 104 [Radan EBH. 365 f.] l. 20 *Ur-Bau-(ge)* is called a *šabar* and another person is called the *šabar* of the god Ningirsu, l. 22. See also below n° 47 obv. l. 9 the *šabar* of the god Anu. The house of the seers also in CT. X 30 b 28. It may that the *dū sa-bar* from which grain is taken for the *satukku* or regular sacrifices, CT. X 39 a 5, (cf. b 17) is to be translated 'store house of the seers'? The title occurs also X 42, 12246 obv. 5; Pinches, Aml. 20 obv. l. 6, and often in this period. According to our evidence the prophet or seer does not belong to the cult of the early Sumerian period. Notice finally the order of numerating religious titles in the syllabar ZA. VII 27, 11-13, *iššakku*, priest-king, *sangu*, priest, *šabru*, prophet.

3. Notice the formula, *mu us-sa mu d-en-ki ba-ab-dū*, i. e., year after the 2nd. year, and that the tablet is dated in second month by the late calendar or the first month by the regular calendar.

32. Sheep and goats brought by Dungira, on the tenth day. Ahu-ili received from Abbašagga. Month *á-ki-ti*. First year of Bur-Sin.
33. 8 fat sheep for the 15th day, sent by the king. From Abbašagga Nanar received. Month of *ezen-d, dun-gi*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
34. Nanar received from Abbašagga 70 sheep, 3 ewes, 144 rams, 113 she goats on the 24th. Month of *ezen-d, dun-gi*. Fourth year of Bur-Sin.
35. Nanar received sheep and lambs from Abbašagga on the 13th day. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Second year of Gimil-Sin.
36. 17 sheep not removed. The conveyancer was Ilišu-Dumuzi.
37. 30 sheep, 11 kids; tablet made by Dingirrane, 39 kids; tablet made by Uršag. From Abbašagga Urningar has received. Month *ezen-me-ki-gál*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
38. 3 sheep; the conveyancer is Banum-Amurrū. Removed on the 18th day. In Urazagnunna. Month *šu-ēš-ša*. Year 45 + X of Dungi.
39. One male sheep for ... *da-kal-la* from ... *dumu-dumu* Ur-du-mal has received. Fourth year of Gimil-Sin. Sealed with the seal of Urbasagal, the scribe, son of Abgaga. On the edge. " Instead of Šalimbēli of Erech -.
40. 8 lambs sent on the 7th day, for Burtuggal-Sin. 60 lambs sent for Damkuzimazu; 180 lambs sent for Abi-šu-dam-gú on the 14th day. Conveyed by the conveyancer ... *dug*. 7 ewes *gír-gír* (?) for (20) the regular offering to tax of *Ur-d* of in Girsu. From Urningar sent. *Ur...nun-na* has received. Month *ki-sig-d nin-a-zu*. Third year of Bur-Sin. Total 476 + X.
41. 105 workmen for one day, for the long boat *in-kad-da*, from the *magurru*-boat Ilu-nūri has taken. Tablet of *Bi-tum-SAL + KU*. Month *še-gūr-kud*. Sixth year of Bur-Sin.
42. A mathematical tablet which I am able to interpret only in part. The numbers are arranged as follows.

8	4	?
12	6	UŠ
20	10	30
20	10	4
60	30	60
120	60	No. total.
ša	īli	

On the edge the grand total 180. The relation of the third column to the first and second columns is a complete mystery. *UŠ* is employed for 60. To gain the total 180 the number 26 should stand at the top of the column but the sign is clearly no number.

43. 147 oxen, 23 cows, month *ezen-me-ki-gál*. 117 oxen, 38 cows, month *še-gūr-kud*. Total 325, taken from the king. 241 oxen, 93 cows. Total 334 registered on the tablets for the month *ezen-maš*.

Total 505 oxen, 154 cows. Grand total 659, taken for the land of Enlil. From *ezenmekigal* to *šegurtar*, two months. Year 46 + X of Dungi.

44. 1 lamb, 1 full grown female kid for the *é-uz-ga*; Akallamu is the messenger. 1 sheep for the throne of Dungi. *Ur-d* Šulšige the baker is the messenger. 1 ram Urnah before the king caused to be brought¹. 10 sheep for *ni-ta-lum* (*lum*?). Aradmu is the messenger. (Removed)

1. *ib-tig*.

- from among those which had been sent. Taken from Abbašagga, on the 14th day. The conveyancer is Nūr-Sin, the scribe. Month *maš-da-kur*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin.
45. 3 fat oxen from Kallamu patesi of Ašnunak; the conveyancer is Intaēa. A tablet of 1 fat ox from Dada, the conveyancer is Lugulammarazag. 1 ox from Nawer-ili. Hides of 2 fat oxen from Ubar. Tablet of 1 fat ox from Uršugalamma. Therefrom 2 fat oxen *šag-3* instead of Dašekentar; 1 fat ox for the drink offering¹; 2 fat oxen sent by *Šu-umun* instead of Amu; Urlamas has received. 2 fat oxen from (?) Seškalla, the messenger, instead of Dada. 2 fat oxen of Akalla, the conveyancer is Intaē. Month *á-ki-ti*. Seventh year of Bur-Sin.
46. A list of 53 oxen, 25 cows, 255 sheep, 114 ewes, 15 kids, 49 she-goats² under the supervision of two *g̃r*, Enlil and *Ur....*, for the *TUM* of a field not further specified. The meaning of *TUM* is unknown to me in this passage. Cf. TSA. 6 rev. I where an official is paid from the *TUM* of the month *Uduzidšea* and DP 10f col. II the *TUM* of the feast *dīm-kur* of Ninā. The tablet is dated in the month *ezen á-nin-a-zu* of the second year of Bur-Sin.
47. Col. I 1-19 list of 103 oxen and cows received from Šugalam, from the king, from the prophet of Anu, from Putul-da (?), from Dungi-ili, from Dada the psalmist and (?) Enlil, from *Lû-bal-2-ga*. Col. I 24-II gives an account of the expenditure of 34 oxen received from the king. Notice in line 4 the form of the sign *šubur* in the name of the god *Ninšubur* a sign later confused with ŠAII and cf. F. Thureau-Dangin. *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 65. Obv. II 22-rev. I 5 appears to be the account of the expenditure of the cattle received from Dungi-ili. Rev. I 6-17 a list of 20 oxen with the names of their donors received by Abbašagga and termed *gud-ġal*, 'property in oxen'. Rev. II 1-10 gives another list of expenses. Notice in line 3 the dead oxen for the bakery and the night offerings to the Moon-god in l. 5. There then follows an account of the cattle removed and of those remaining. Dated in the third year of Bur-Sin.
48. A list of ewes, male sheep, lambs, male sheep, she goats and kids with the names of the shepherds who brought them. [Notice the *maš-du* (ll. 9, 12, 18, 21). *maš-du* is apparently a variant of *maš-dā* = *šabitu*]. Two *PA*, a priestly function, are mentioned. obv. 26, rev. 8. The total reaches the high figure 1752 sheep and goats for the *a-ri-a* of the temple of Enlil. With the word *a-ri-a* is certainly connected the *a-ru-a* of the temple of Innini no. 51. 8. We have probably to do here with a noun derived from the verb *a-ru*³ = *šarāku* to give, dedicate, hence *širiktu* a gift. Cf. B. M., 18346 rev. V 27. Perhaps also in *a-ru-a-ne* B. M., 14313, obv. I, 10, in the sense 'consecrated, given over to', and *ibid.* II, 25. Dated in the third year of Bur-Sin.
49. One fat ox, two sheep, one [lamb] for the *á-siġ* of the god [].
One fat ox, two sheep, for Innini.

1. *kaš-de-a-ga*.

2. Notice in the total l. 24 that the female kids or young she goats (*ūniqu*) ll. 16 f., are included under *enzu* she goats. Notice also the order of sheep, 7-11 and goats, 12-17. Male sheep *immeru* (7) corresponds to he goats *maš-gal* (12); male lamb *sil (puḫadu)* (8) = male kid *maš (šabitu)* (13); lamb (9) = kid (*lālu*) (14); ewe *barun* (10) = she goat *ūz* (15); the female suckling lambs (11) correspond to the female kids in ll. 16 f.

3. This etymology is apparently assured by the passage *udu a-ru-a den-ki pū-sir-ra-ka-kum*, small cattle as an offering to Ea of the long canal, DP. 98 VI 3.

One fat ox, two sheep, one [lamb] for the *Unu*¹.

One fat ox, two sheep, one lamb, for Ninsun², one lamb for *Nin-me-en-na*³, one lamb for *nin-PA-[KI ?]*⁴, one lamb for the *ká-mi-ē*, one lamb for the mouth of the sacred canal, one lamb for the reservoir of the sacred canal in Erech.

One ox, two sheep, one lamb, for Ninsun in *KI-KAL-(ki)*.

One ox, two sheep, one lamb for *Asar⁵-lū-dug*; [one] fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ninsun; one sheep, one lamb for the A-TEMEN⁷ of Asaru, in Šubaru⁸.

One fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ea, one sheep for Babbar, in Eridu.

One fat ox, two lambs, one lamb for the god [], one fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Nannar, one fat ox, two sheep, one lamb for Ninsun in Ur. Offerings of libation to the sacred canal; Baba-Nidaba the butler is the mes[senger]. Total of 11 fat oxen, 24 sheep, 17 lambs, removed on the 28th day. Month *še-gūr-kud*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin.

50. The patesi of Šuruppak received from Abbašagga 730 sheep, 238 ewes, 190 rams, 40 she-goats and 132 mother she-goats⁹. Of these part are for the yearly tax¹⁰ and were sent in the month *šu-ēš-ša*, a considerable number came from the king in the month *ezen-maġ*; all these in the eighth year of Bur-Sin. 120 sheep are sent in the beginning of the next year.
51. 1-4. Dada the psalmist received 1 female kid from the king (?)¹¹ for the temple of Nusku, in the month *ezen-^d-dungi*. 5-10, Nadi, the seer, received 8 *bar-gil*-sheep each bearing 5/6 mana of wool and 3 rams, sent by the king as a gift to the temple of Innini, in the month *ezen-maġ*. 11-15, Lugalniti received 40 sheep in month *ezen-anna*, 20 sheep and 40 rams in the month

1. A chamber or sanctuary in the temple possibly identical with the *gigunu*, 'dark abode', an imitation of the abode of the dead.

2. For *Ninsun* a goddess in Erech see SBP. 154 n. 1.

3. We have here a phonetic spelling for *nin-men-an-na* = *bēlīt ilāni* an epithet of Ninlil, IV R. 17 a 15. Abbreviated to *nin-men*, BM. 22452. In CT. XXIV 12, 18 = 25, 83 *nin-men-na* = *bēlīt me-a-am-ni* (var. *mami*), where *meāmu* > *māmu* appears to be a loan-word from *men*, crown; the original loan-word is *mi-in-nu* BA. V 638, 13.

4. Cf. Nik. 23 obv. IV.

5. Or *kā-gig ē* (?), or *kā-gig-ge* (?). Cf. the *kā-me* built by Ur-ninā, SAK. 4 c) V 5. Perhaps 'gate of battle' (?); or 'gate of the house of darkness' if the reading *gig* be preferred.

6. Note that the sign is clearly REC. 387 *asar* not *silig* (384). Cf. CT. X 24 II 6; V 25 I 16. For the reading *lu-dug* cf. Hilprecht Anniv. 220 rev. 7.

7. Cf. SBH. 100 (?).

8. *HA-A-(ki)*, probably identical with *A-HA* = *šubaru*, *šuru*, SAI. 8993. In IV R. 36 n° 1, obv. a 26-8, *HA-A-ki* follows Gutium. The identification of *SU-EDIN*, (*su-bir*) with *Šubartu*, *Šubartu*, *Šubaru* originally a land east of the Tigris (Del. Paradies 234 f) and later employed for Mesopotamia (Jensen, KB. VI, 66 n. 5) and Assyria (Langdon, Neu-Bab. Königsinschriften, p. 3 with Winckler) appears to be proven. Also *HA-A-ki* in IV R. 36 is apparently employed for a city *Šubaru* in this region. It would be difficult to separate *HA-A-ki* in the Drehem inscription from the northern *Šubaru*. In case this identification be correct we have here in the capital of ancient *Šubartu* far to the north near Assyria the cults of two Sumerian deities fully recognized 2450 BC. Furthermore if this be the *Šubaru* in question in CT. XVI 6, 239 (*A-HA-ki*) where the priest of incantation boasts of being created in Eridu and *Šubaru* then *Šubaru* must have been one of the most ancient centres of the Sumerian religion. In case the Sumerians came from the North, *Šubaru* may represent one of their oldest cults. Note that the cult of Eridu follows that of *Šubaru* on our tablet.

9. *uš-ga-zu*.

10. *mu-bal-a*.

11. *ša-ru-mi-un*.

šegurkud as the regular offering to the goddess Gula¹. Eighth year of Bur-Sin. 19-24, 4 asses, *bar-an* male, sent by the king. Lūbalšagga the *IŠ* has received. 2 grown up young of the AZ on the eleventh day Dada the psalmist has received. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Ninth year of Bur-Sin. On the edge, 'copy of the tablet of *KU-KU-ti*'.

52. 1 fat ox in Tummal for the libation of the king. The conveyancer of Ninā is Gugu (sic!). 3 sheep for a libation in Nippur to Annunit. 1 fat ox and 12 sheep in Ur, 1 lamb in Erech for Ur-Gusir. 2 fat oxen (for) Ur-Dumuzida-i the priest on behalf of the great *sukallu*. 27 sheep the first time, 2 lambs the second time, the conveyancer being Abbašagga. 1 fat ox, the conveyancer is Ur-Dumuzid the elder. 30 sheep, the conveyancer is Alamu. 2 lambs from Naramu. 1 lamb on behalf of the great *sukallu*, the conveyancer is Urabšagga, the barber. 1 fat sheep from the temple. 6 sheep, the conveyancer is Ba-ir. 3 adult cows *gul-la*, the conveyancer of Nīmā. 2 fat oxen, the conveyancer is Urabazag. Total 7 fat oxen, 3 cows, 85 sheep. Received of Dalala.
53. Ur-Iimmer patesi of *HA* (?)..... *ši-(ki)* has caused to be delivered 12 oxen, 58 sheep and 29 rams for the festival of the temple on the 15th day. The cattle and sheep are regular.... tax of the patesi for the temple on the day.
Abbašagga has received; sent as property². Month *ezen-me-ki-gál*. Seventh year of Bur-Sin.
54. A tag for an account of oxen, sheep and goats in Gutiran. The PA is Šarrumbani. Not sent.
55. 1 female kid, fat, sent by Narām-Ea. 2 lambs sent for the temple of Aštartum. 1 lamb sent by Dungi-ili. 1 lamb sent by Azag-Ningal son of Zimtu. The messenger is Aradmu. 1 female kid, fat, for the house *uz-ga*, sent by Nirnidagal, Ur-Bau is the messenger. Taken from Abbašagga on the 26th day. The month is intercallary *ezenmekigal* of the third year of Bur-Sin.
56. A list of sheep, cattle and goats which Dungi-ā-mu received from Abbašagga. A considerable number are given to the tanner (*lū-su*). The tablet is unusual in that it gives the colours of the animals in most cases. Thus we have striped oxen *gud-dur-a* l. 2, and cf. *dar-a* with cows (5), sheep (9), etc. Contrasted with the variegated animals are the *sig* or red animals only of goats, ll. 13, 15³. The black ewes and she goats occur, ll. 10, 14.
57. The tablet assigns one lamb to Aštartum and gives a list of sheep and lambs received from a patesi and several individuals. The whole is said to be sent by the king. Of these Nanar receives 8 sheep and Intača 13 lambs. Dated on the 8th of *ezen-me-ki-gál*.
58. A list of proper names. The date which is unknown reads *mu ba¹-u gu...nam-erim...*
59. List of lambs and one female kid with the names of the donors. Received by Nūr-ka.
60. A tag for a basket of tablets concerning the *guzalū*, a community of court officials. *pisan dub-ba nig-šid-ag-ur gu-za-la-e-ne*, basket of tablets, the old account of the *guzalū*. Dated in the seventh year of Gimil-Sin⁵.

1. Notice the order of the months Ezen-Dungi, Ezenmah, and Šegurkud after which follows the name of the year. The month Mašdukur is in the next year wherefore it is evident that *Šegurkud* was the last month of the year.

2. *mu-du-gal*.

3. The sign is a unified *SI*, REC. 48 = Br. 3476 and for *sig* in this sense, cf. *sig* = *banū*, CT. XXV 26, 21. One must hesitate between the colours *red* and *white*. *sig* means simply bright, but cf. *sig* Br. 3745 = *sāmu*, red.

4. For this form of *ba* written *KU*, cf. 62. 3.

5. *gu-za-lá*, loan-word *guzalū*, has been commonly interpreted as 'throne or stool bearer', and occurs chiefly as a title of messengers and councillors of the gods. The title is discussed only in this mythological

61. A capitulation of oxen and cows received from Enlil by Naramu, Ušmu, Lu-Nannar, the seer, Gimil-Aštar¹ the son of the king (Bur-Sin), and Ur-nigingar, the Iš, for which all have given tablets. At the end (l. 14) occurs the phrase *dup dib-ba*, tablets held (against them). Month *ezen-d-dungi*, third year of Bur-Sin².
62. 4 fat oxen Errabani has received. 45 sheep Udami-šarram [has received]. 1 lamb Ur-Bau, the prophet, has received. 50 oxen in the walled field of Teli³. 210 lambs *Lugal....ri* [has received]. 65 lambs *Lunura* [has received]. 7 oxen Enlil has received. 1535 sheep Dugga has received. The 15th. day. 633 sheep left from the third day. *dub-bi šag-gà á ud-da-gu-šid*. Month *ezen-anna*. Eighth year of Bur-Sin.
63. 10 talents 13 1/3 mana of wool *gir-sun*. As its value one has sent 20 mana of woollen cloth. On the 28th. day Lukalla has received. The conveyancer was Nannartubba, the scribe. Month *ŠEŠ-da-kur*. First year of Ibil-Sin.
64. A list of she-goats and lambs with the names of the senders and the messengers. Income of the 26th. day. Said to be taken from Abbašagga for the temple of Aštartum and for the *é-uz-ga*. Intercalary *ezen-me-ki-gál*. Third year of Bur-Sin⁴.
65. 1 lamb for Enlil, 1 lamb for Ninlil, sent by *Ur-d-diš-dingirra*, the messenger is Ninā-ušumgal. 1 sheep for the throne of the god Dungi, sent by Erā, the messenger is Wadarum. 6 oxen, 3 cows, 2 sheep, 8 lambs, 1 ewe. 6 male kids, 2 she goats, 1 she kid inspected for the bakery. On the 8th. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *ezen-d-ninasu*, second year of Bur-Sin.
66. 10 oxen, *Ú*, in Guzagtum; the overseer is Šeškalla. Not sent. Ninth year of Gimil-Sin.
67. 2 sheep charged to Kišer of Gumaraši. 2 sheep charged to Dušari. Nalu-uk(?) and Šupušmud, 2 sheep charged to Du-ug(?) -ra. men of *K.1K-GIG-(ki)*. 2 sheep charged to Giršati of Ku(?)lum. 2 sheep charged to Pudumkiriš of Šerši. 2 sheep charged to Nerati⁵ of Šešabi. Lugalmagurri is the messenger. 3 oxen, 2 cows, 8 ewes inspected for the bakery. The 23^d. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *ezen-maš*. Second year of Bur-Sin.
68. 1 fat she kid for Enlil, sent by Šinana. 1 lamb for Šamaš, 1 kid for Innini, sent by the high priest of Innini, the messenger is Ninā-ušumgal.. 1 sheep, *i-šar*, *kūr* Bašdugab⁶, sent by Gimil-Sin the judge, the messenger is Aradmu. 2 full grown kids⁷ for the *é-uz-ga*, sent by Ur-d-Dišdingira, the messenger is Akalla. 2 full grown kids, dead, for the store house. 22nd. day. Taken from Abbašagga. Month *maš-dū-kur*. Second year of Bur-Sin.

sense in the lexicons and by Jensen, KB. VI 1, 482. The *guzalū* are, however, an important class of officials and appear to have lived as a community for we find the house of the *gu-za-lā* served by 23 servants under a *PA* (a religious function) and a *nubanda* (a secular function), BM. 17775 obv. 4, and a *nubanda* or overseer of workmen has also the title *gu-za-lā* in BM 12912 rev. VI 5.

The fem *guzilitu* occurs as an attendant on a queen (or goddess?) in SBP. 264, 2.

1. Note that the son of Bur-Sin who succeeded to the throne is named Gimil-Sin. (The transcription *Gimil* for *ŠU* is not certain.)

2. The Drehem tablets have *dingir gu-za*, 'the divine throne' instead of the ordinary *gi-gu-za* at Lagash.

3. Cf. n^o 51. 16: 50 oxen in the *gi-zu* of Teli-ili. Cf. ZA. XXIV 387.

4. The formula offers a slight variant of the regular form at Lagash, *mu d-gu-za šag-gul-la d-en-lil-lā ba-dim*, year when the divine throne, rejoicing the heart of Enlil, was fashioned.

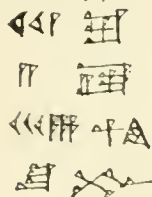
5. Or *Berati* (?)

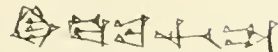
6. I. e. the mountain Bašdugab (?).

7. *maš-dū* is here clearly distinguished from *māš* (l. 4).

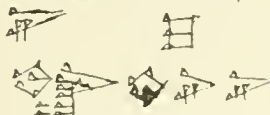
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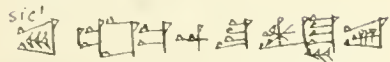
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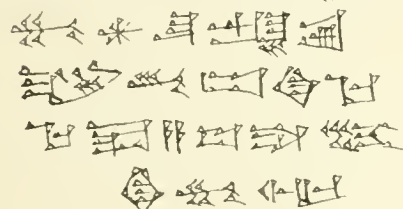


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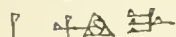


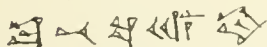
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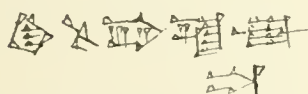
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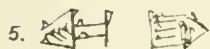
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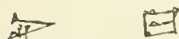


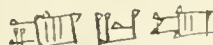




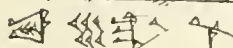
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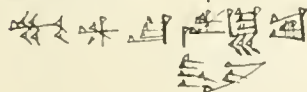
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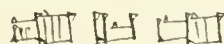


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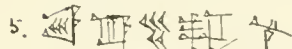


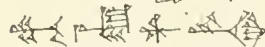


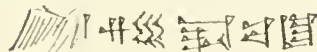


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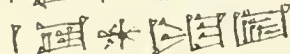
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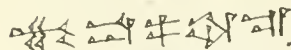





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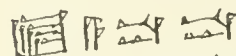
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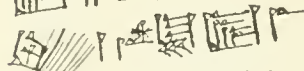


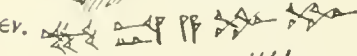


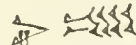


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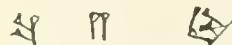


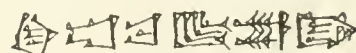


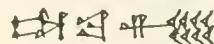
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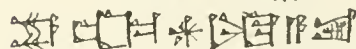


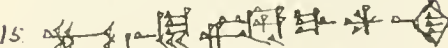
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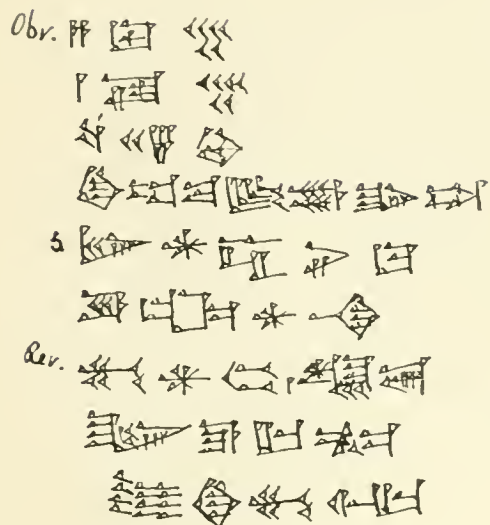
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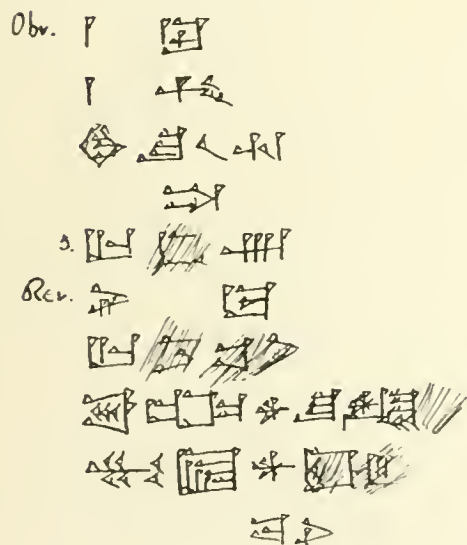
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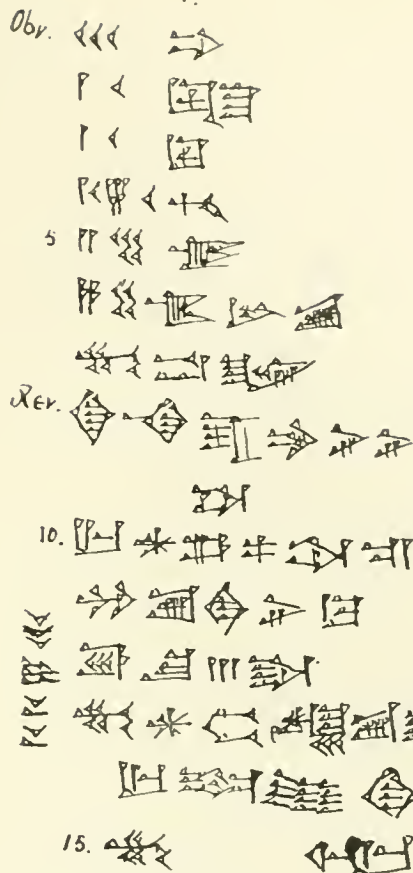
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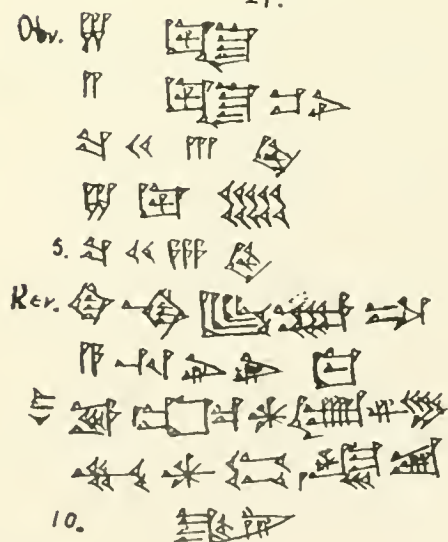
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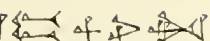
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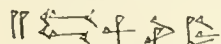
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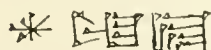


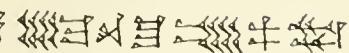
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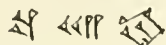


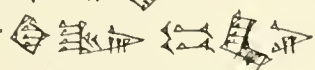


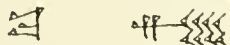



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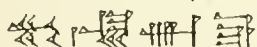


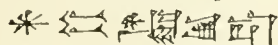


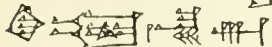
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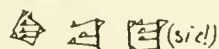


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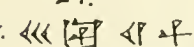




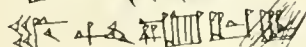


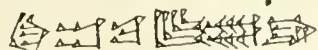
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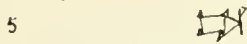
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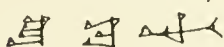







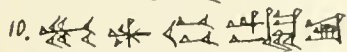
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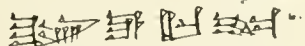


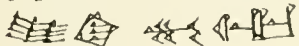


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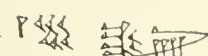


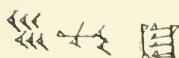
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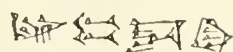


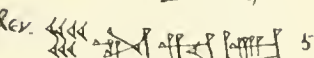
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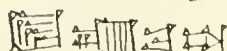
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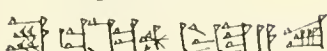


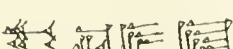


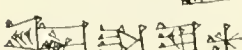


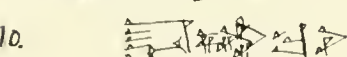
Rev.  5



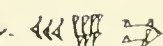






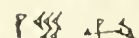
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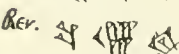
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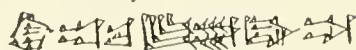
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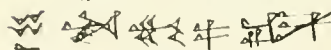


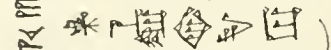


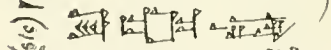


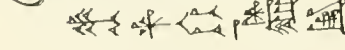
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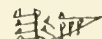












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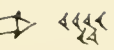
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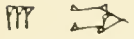
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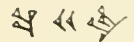
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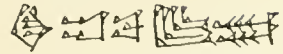
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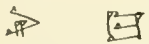


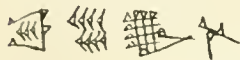






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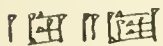


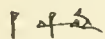


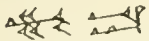


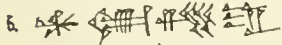
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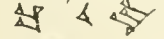
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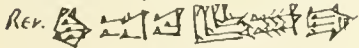




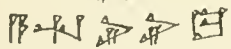


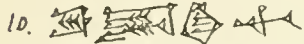
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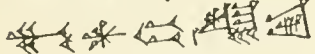


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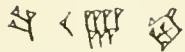
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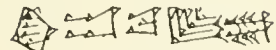


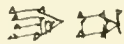


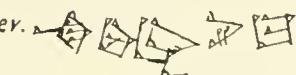
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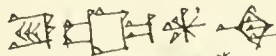
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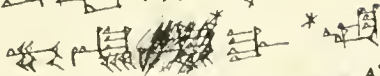


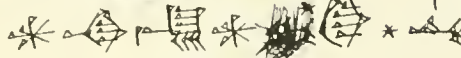


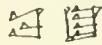


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




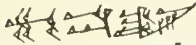


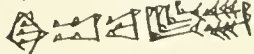


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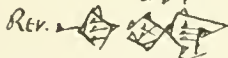
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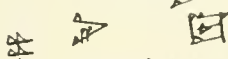


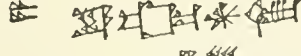


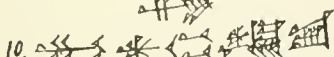


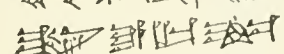
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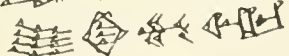
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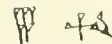
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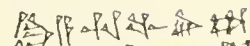


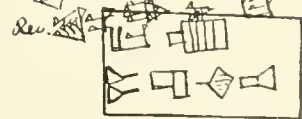


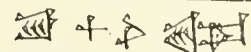
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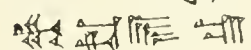
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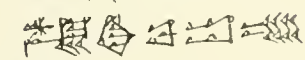





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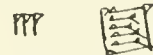


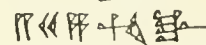




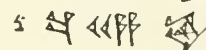
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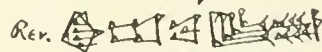
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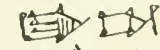




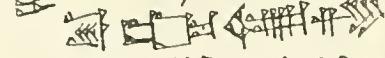


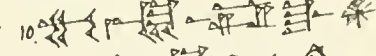
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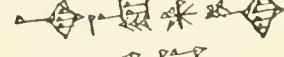
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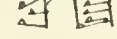




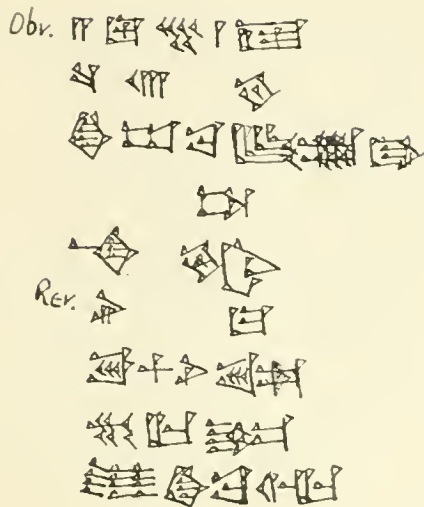


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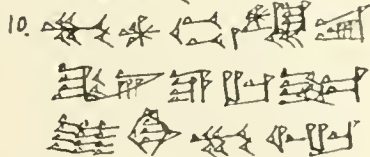
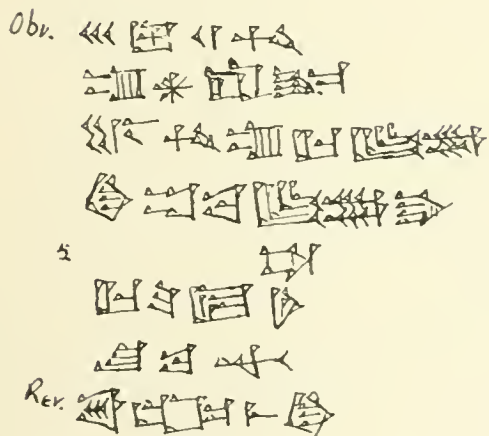




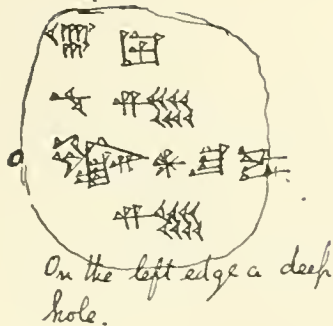
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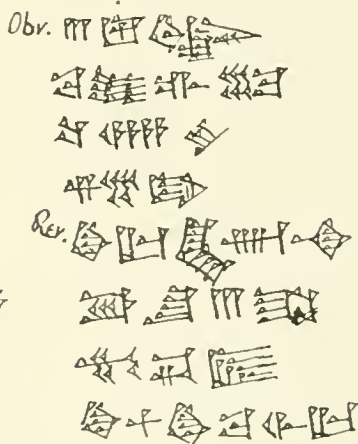
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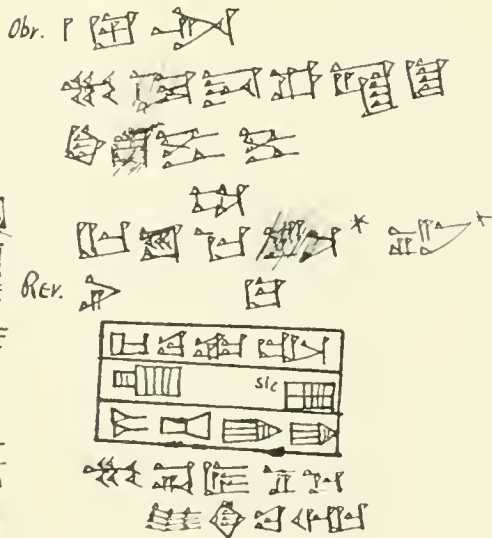
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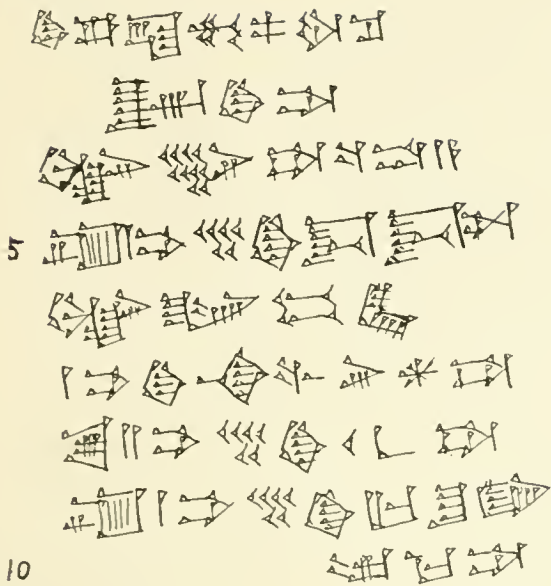
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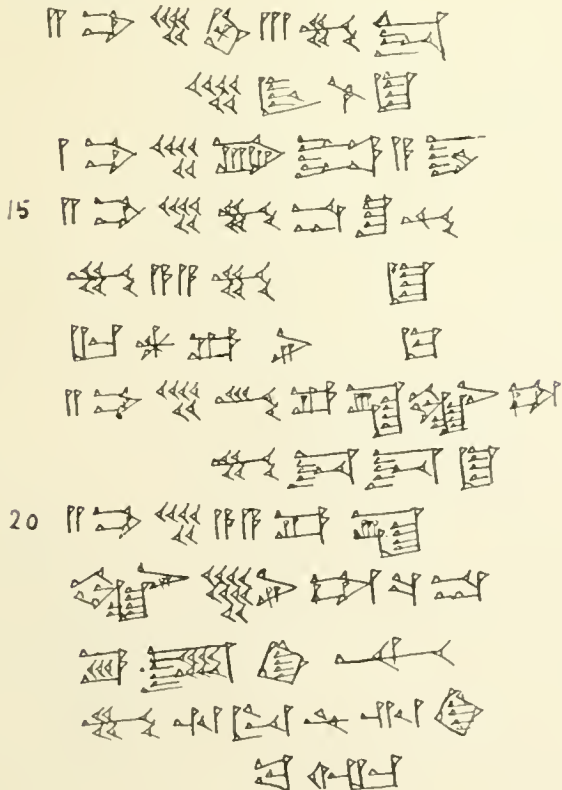
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Obv. PPF →



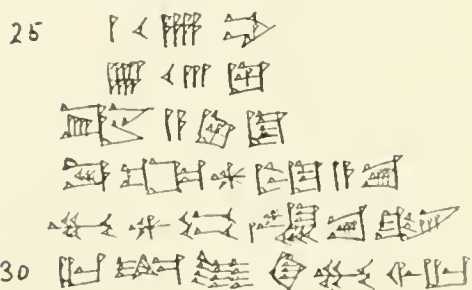
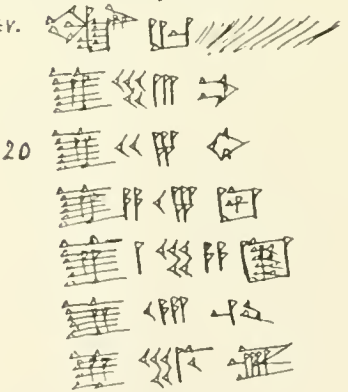
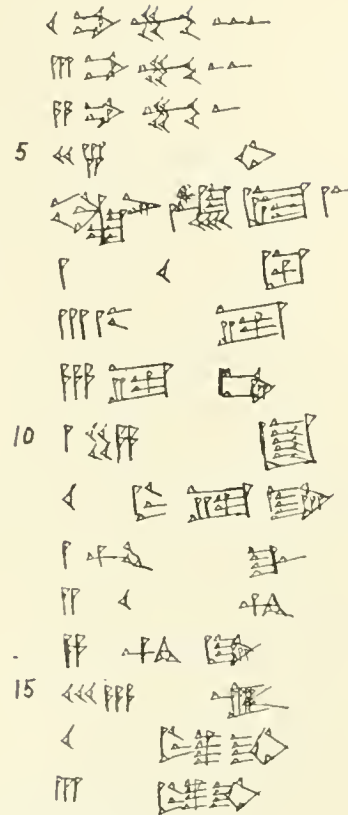
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Rev. PPF →



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Obv. <<< PPF



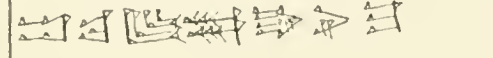
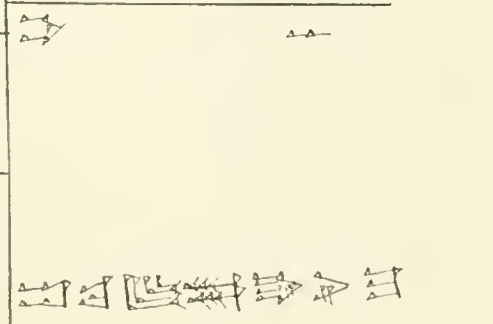
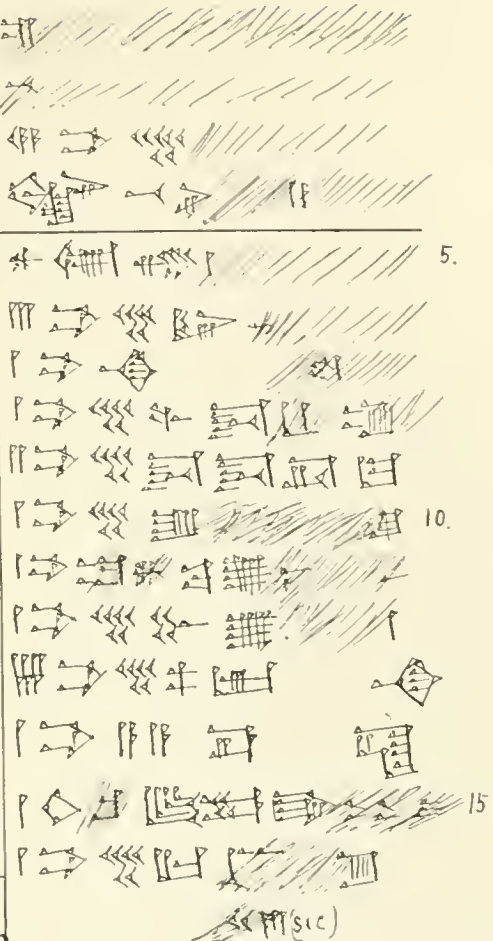
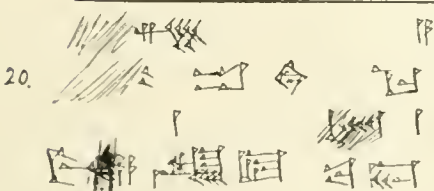
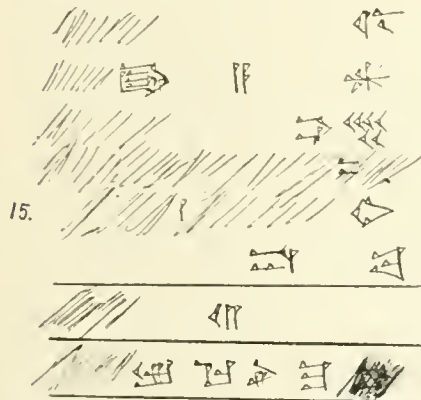
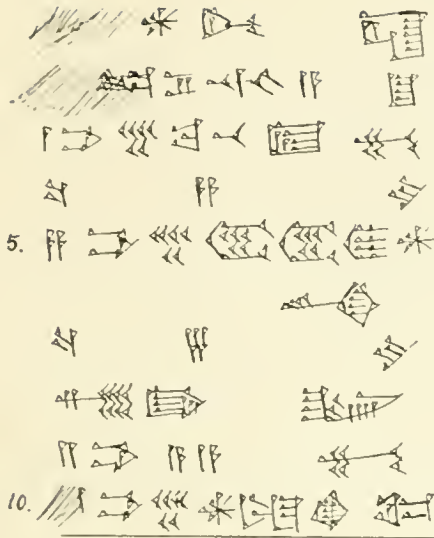
47
Cbr.

Col. I

<p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>
<p>5. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>5. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>
<p>10. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>10. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>
<p>15. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>15. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>
<p>0. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>20. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>
<p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>	<p>25. PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p> <p>PPF 中</p>

47

Rev.



50

Obv. P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 5 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 10 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 Rev. P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 15 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
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 20 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P

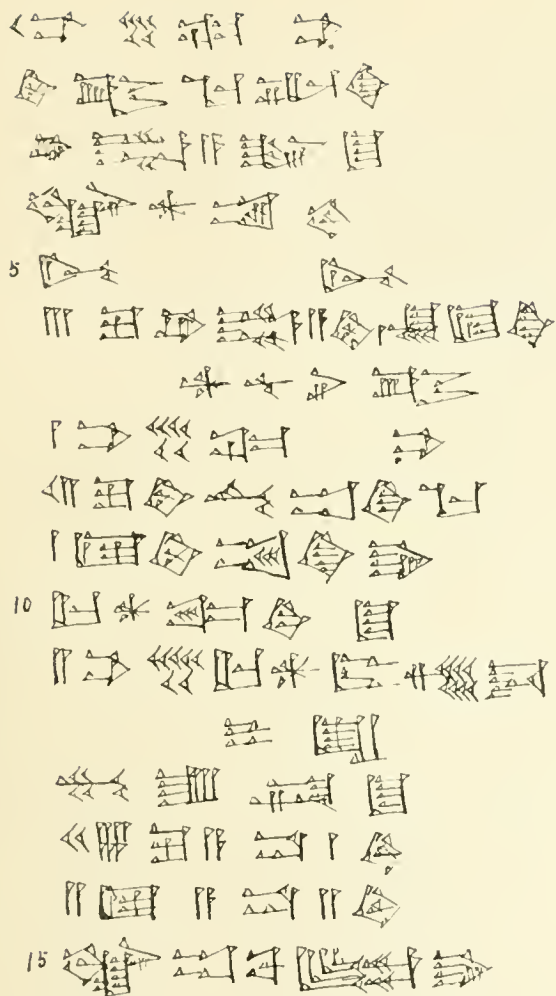
51

Obv. P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
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 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 5 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 10 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
 15 P P P P P P P P P P
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 20 P P P P P P P P P P
 P P P P P P P P P P
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1) Lines 16-7 are scratched into the tablet after it was baked.

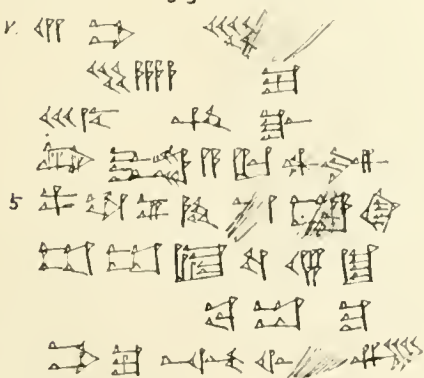
52

Obr.

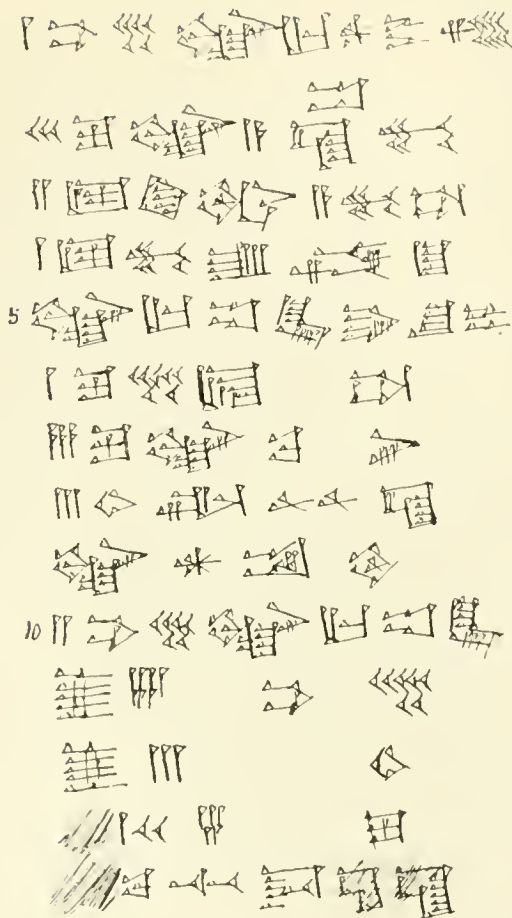


53

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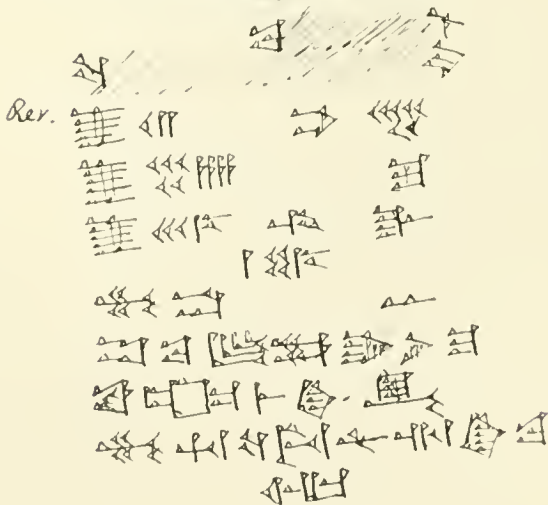


Rev.

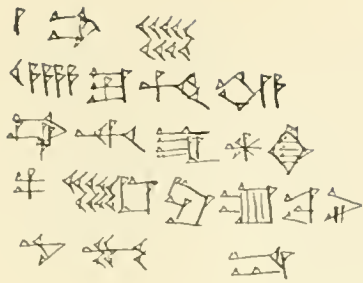


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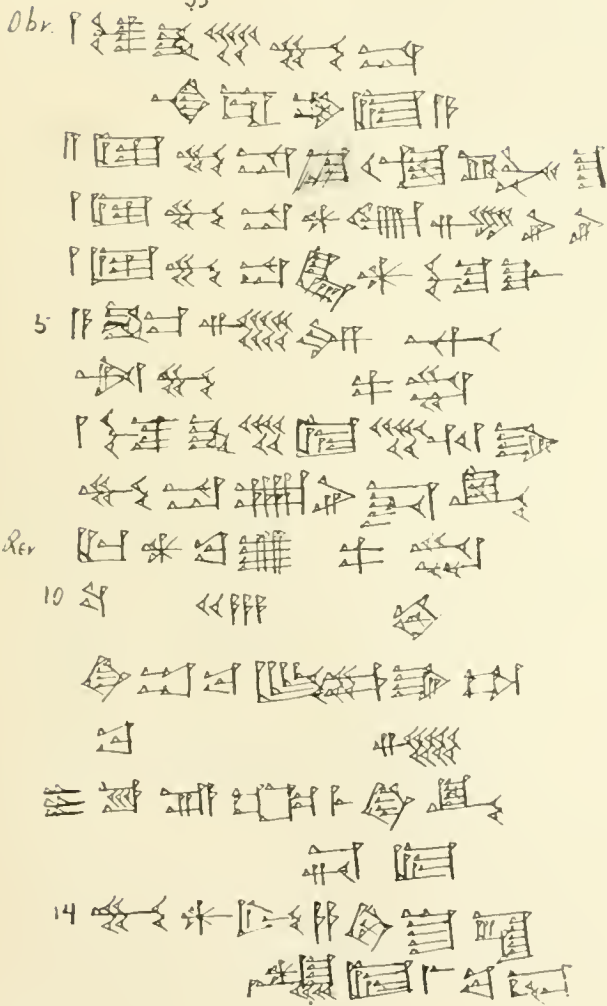
8



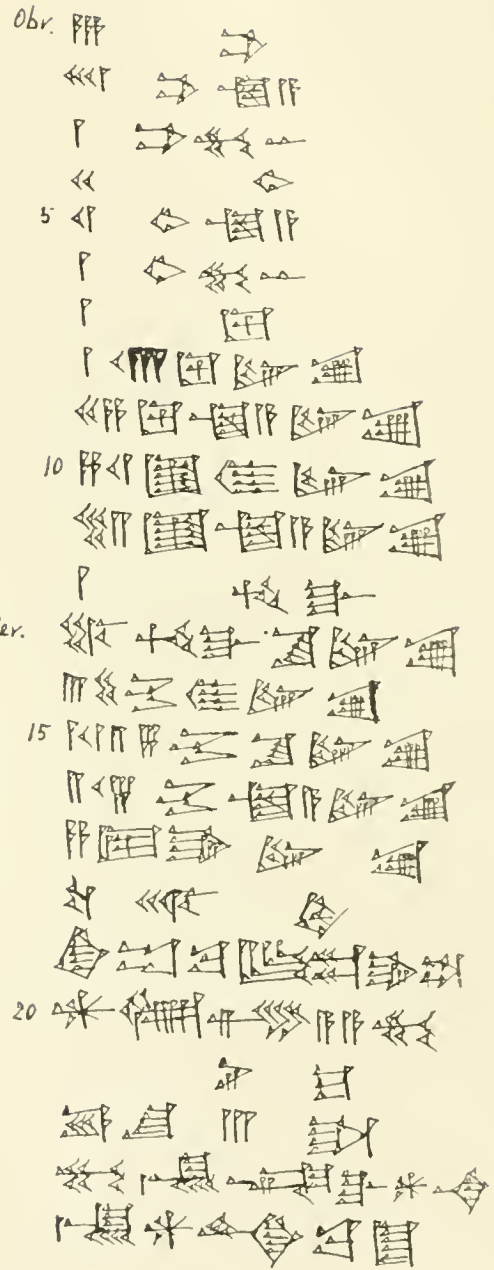
54



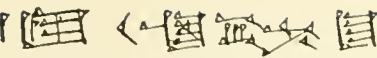
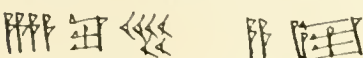
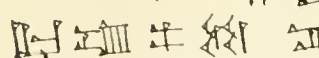
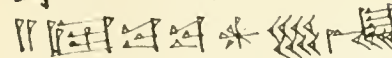
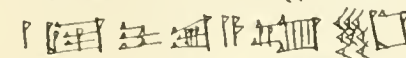
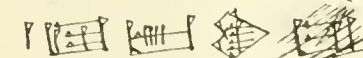
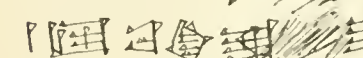

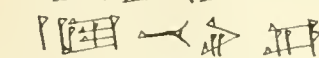
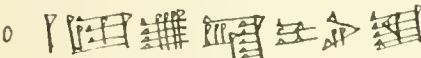
55

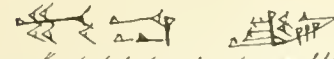

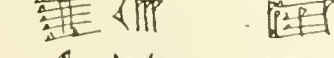
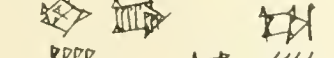
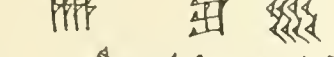
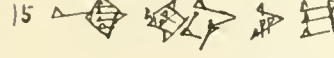
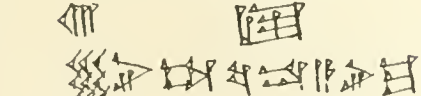


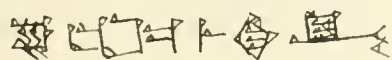
56



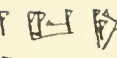
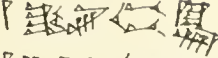
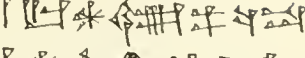
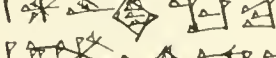
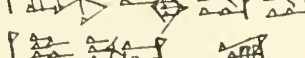
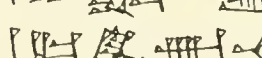
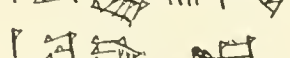
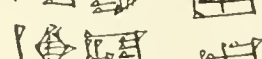
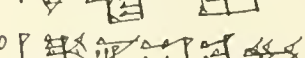
57

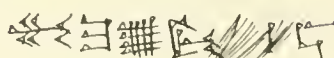
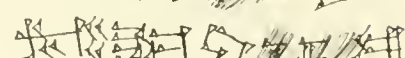
Obv. 



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15 



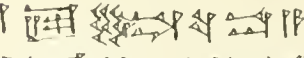
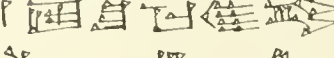
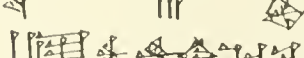
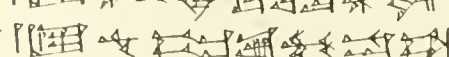
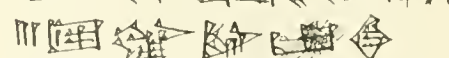
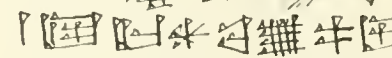

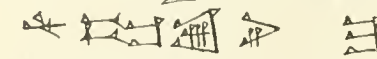
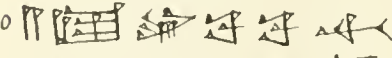



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Obv. 



5 



10 

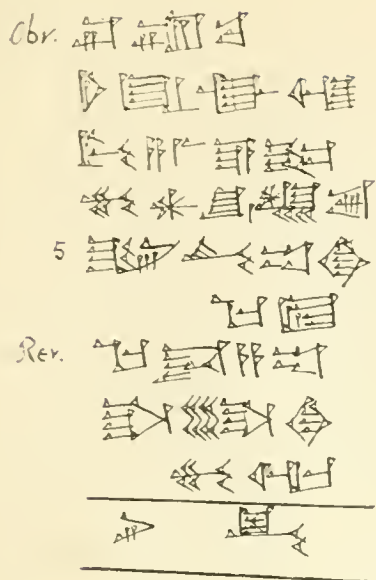
Rev. 


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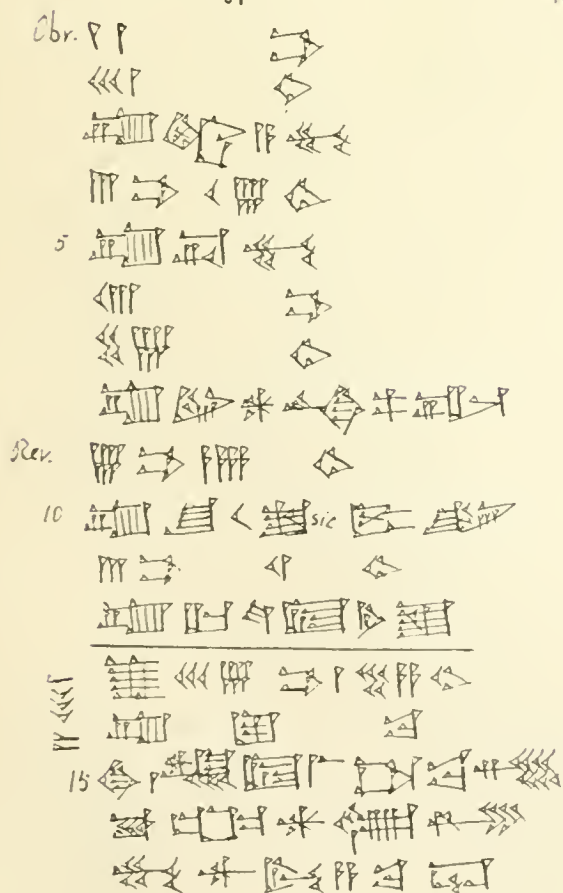
Obv. 



5 



10 


No reverse.

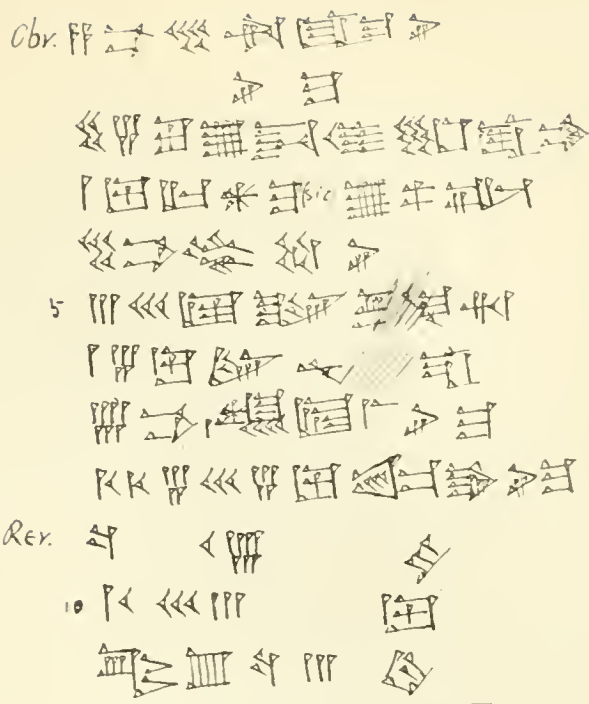
60



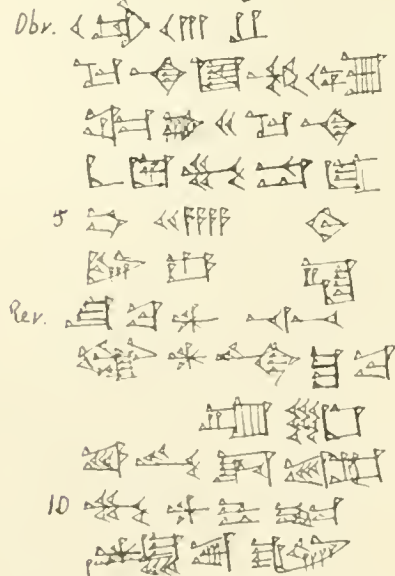
61



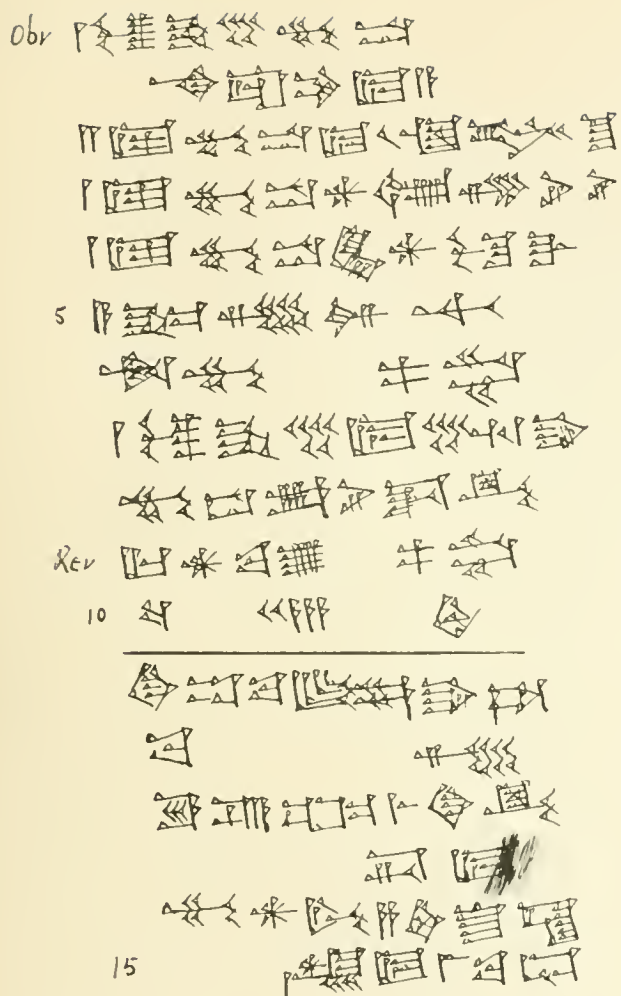
62



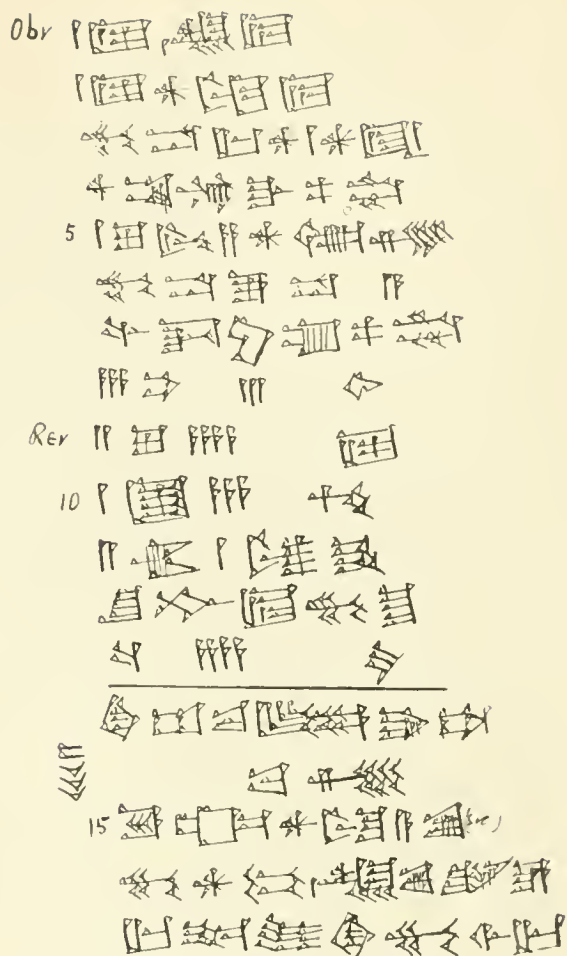
63



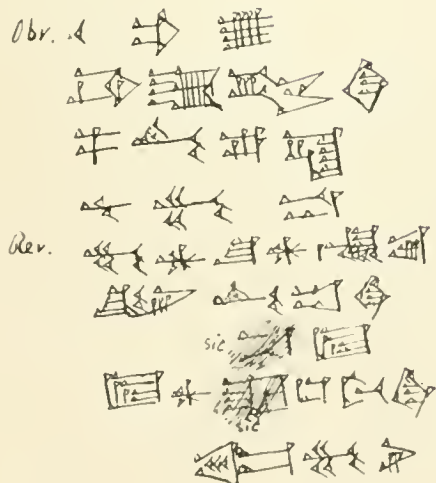
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65



66



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